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The Signing of the Treaty to Renounce War

AUGUST 27, 1928, the day on which the treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy was signed in Paris by the plenipotentiaries of fifteen nations, promises to be memorable not only in the history of the world-wide movement for peace, but also as marking an important step in American foreign relations. The United States in becoming one of the original signatories was represented by its Secretary of State in person, Mr. Kellogg having gone to Paris solely for the purpose of attaching, on behalf of his Government, his signature to the treaty to which he had invited fourteen other nations to become original signatories, before asking all the remaining countries of the world to enter the compact.

In addition to Mr. Kellogg the ceremony was attended by the men in charge of the foreign affairs of several other leading Powers and notably by Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister, whose "grand conception," Mr. Kellogg declared to the newspaper correspondents in Paris on Aug. 25, "led to the making of this treaty." M. Briand's first definite proposal to "out-law" war was made in a message to the American people on the tenth anniversary of this country's entry into the World War in April, 1917. This was followed on June 20, 1927, by his submitting to the United States a draft of a pact of perpetual friendship between France and this country, and subsequent negotiations extended the idea to that of the multilateral treaty which has just been signed and which is now likely to be known as the Kellogg-Briand Treaty.

Mr. Kellogg sailed in the *Ile de France* from New York on Aug. 18, having already made it clear that he was going to Paris

for no other reason than to sign the treaty, for there had been speculation as to the likelihood of his discussing various international problems that concerned European statesmen. Just before his departure Mr. Kellogg received a cablegram from Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, regretting that his health prevented him from being in Paris on Aug. 27 and referring to the treaty as "a signal advance toward universal peace." W. L. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, also traveled in the *Ile de France* to represent the Dominion at the signing of the treaty, and during the voyage had several discussions with Mr. Kellogg regarding relations between the United States and Canada. They arrived in Paris on the morning of Aug. 24, a few hours after Count Uchida, the Japanese plenipotentiary, stepped off the through train from Siberia after a continuous journey across two continents. Because of his important position in the conduct of Japanese foreign affairs, significance was attached to Count Uchida's conversation lasting an hour with Mr. Kellogg on Aug. 26.

Dr. Stresemann's visit to Paris, where he arrived on Aug. 26, was notable as being the first time for many years that a German Foreign Minister had been in the French capital. It was said that not since 1870 had a German Foreign Minister been received with the ceremony that marked this occasion. Speaking to a correspondent of *The New York Times*, Dr. Stresemann, whose health is still not good, said: "It will need a pretty severe illness to keep me away from the signing of the treaty. Mr. Kellogg's signature is to me not only a general condemnation of war, but collaboration of the United States in a powerful

move to avert war in Europe. Considering your aloofness from the League of Nations, that is a most helpful development. Perhaps we are slowly moving toward a United States of Europe."

Of all the meetings between statesmen of various countries that took place during this gathering to advance the cause of peace, perhaps the most important was that between M. Poincaré and Dr. Stresemann, who spent one hour and twenty minutes together with no one present but an interpreter. The principal subject of discussion was whether the French should evacuate the Rhineland and it was understood that from a German standpoint the meeting was fruitless, since M. Poincaré would commit himself to nothing.

THE CEREMONY

The ceremony of signing the treaty took place in the Salle des Horloges of the French Foreign Office on the Quai d'Orsay. Full facilities were provided for the taking of moving pictures of the historic event and radio equipment was installed for the broadcasting of whatever speeches might be made. It was generally expected that Mr. Kellogg would speak, but much to the surprise of the assemblage he did not, and the only speech was that of M. Briand, who presided. Soon after he began M. Briand, turning to Mr. Kellogg, said: "Sitting today among us in this very hall where his illustrious forerunner, President Wilson, had already brought to the work of peace such lofty consciousness of the part played by his country, Mr. Kellogg can with just pride look on the progress that has been made in such a short time since the day when we both began to examine the means of carrying out this far-reaching diplomatic undertaking." After tributes to Dr. Stresemann and Sir Austen Chamberlain and references to the League of Nations, M. Briand concluded by pointing out that, although peace had been proclaimed, it was still necessary to organize it and that he proposed to dedicate the treaty to "all the dead of the Great War." As he said these words he turned to Dr. Stresemann and there was a tremendous outburst of applause.

After the speech had been translated into English by an interpreter M. Briand read

the treaty and the delegates signed the document in the alphabetical order of the French names of the countries they represented. For this reason Germany (*Allemagne*) came first, the United States (*Amérique, Les Etats Unis*) second, and Czechoslovakia (*Tchécoslovaquie*) last. There is only one copy of the treaty, which is in French and English, and which is to be kept in Washington, all the other signatories receiving certified copies of this original. The occasion of the signing was marked by an exchange of congratulatory messages between President Coolidge and the President of the French Republic, Gaston Doumergue.

The signing of the treaty was followed promptly the same day by an invitation from the United States to forty eight nations to become signatories. (See text of this and other documents at end of this article.) The only countries omitted were San Marino and Monaco, with which the United States has only consular relations; Andorra, with which it has no official relations, and Russia, whose present Government it does not recognize. To Russia, however, a similar invitation was extended by the French Government, through its Ambassador in Moscow. The Soviet Government agreed to sign the treaty for reasons set forth in the reply printed elsewhere. Yugoslavia was the first nation, apart from the original fifteen, to sign and other nations began to follow in quick order.

DIPLOMATS' DEPARTURE

Dr. Stresemann left Paris on Aug. 28, a day earlier than he intended, because, according to reports, he found neither M. Poincaré nor M. Briand able to give him definite assurances regarding the early evacuation of the Rhineland. Mr. Kellogg left France on Aug. 29 and without visiting England proceeded on the United States cruiser *Detroit* direct to Ireland for the purpose of returning the visit of William T. Cosgrave, President of the Irish Free State, to America last year. Mr. Cosgrave accompanied Mr. Kellogg on the *Detroit*. Most of the other diplomats who signed the treaty left for Geneva to attend the meetings of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations.

FULL TEXT OF KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY

THE President of the German Reich, the President of the United States of America, his Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland, the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, his Majesty the King of Italy, his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the President of the Republic of Poland, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic;

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process; and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

Have decided to conclude a treaty, and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The President of the German Reich, Dr. Gustav Stresemann, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

The President of the United States of America, the Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State;

His Majesty the King of the Belgians, M. Paul Hymans, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister of State;

The President of the French Republic, M. Aristide Briand, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

For Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League of Nations, the Right Hon. Lord Cushendun, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

For the Dominion of Canada, the Right Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs;

For the Commonwealth of Australia, the Hon. Alexander John McLachlen, member of the Executive Federal Council;

For the Dominion of New Zealand, the Hon. Sir Christopher James Parr, High Commissioner for New Zealand in Great Britain;

For the Union of South Africa, the Hon. Jacobus Stephanus Smit, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Great Britain;

For the Irish Free State, Mr. William

Thomas Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State;

For India, the Right Hon. Lord Cushendun, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

His Majesty the King of Italy, Count Gaetano Manzoni, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Paris;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Count Uchida, member of the Privy Council;

The President of the Republic of Poland,

Mr. A. Zales, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

The President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Dr. Eduard Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Who, having communicated to one another their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II.

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

ARTICLE III.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington.

This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at Washington, and the treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other parties hereto.

It shall be the duty of the Government of the United States of America to furnish each Government named in the preamble and every Government subsequently adhering to this treaty with a certified copy of the treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the Government of the United States of America telegraphically to notify such Governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

In faith whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in the French and English languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

Done at Paris the twenty-seventh day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

THE AMERICAN INVITATION TO OTHER NATIONS

THE following is the text of the invitation of the United States Government to forty-eight nations, in addition to the original signatories, to adhere to the treaty:

I have the honor to inform you that the Governments of Germany, the United States of America, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, Irish Free State, India, Italy, Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia have this day signed in Paris a treaty binding them to renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another and to seek only by pacific means the settlement or solution of all disputes which may arise among them.

This treaty, as your Excellency is aware, is the outcome of negotiations which commenced on June 20, 1927, when M. Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, submitted to my Government a draft of a pact of perpetual friendship between France and the United States. In the course of the subsequent negotiations this idea was extended so as to include as original signatories of the anti-war treaty not only France and the United States but also Japan, the British Empire and all the Governments which participated with France and Great Britain in the Locarno agreements, namely Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy and Poland.

This procedure met the point raised by the British Government in its note of May 19, 1928, where it stated that the treaty from its very nature was not one which concerned that Government alone, but was one in which the Government could not undertake to participate otherwise than jointly and simultaneously with the Governments in the Dominions and the Government of India; it also settled satisfactorily the question whether there was any inconsistency between the new treaty and the Treaty of Locarno, thus meeting the observations of the French Government as to the necessity of extending the number of original signatories.

The decision to limit the original signatories to the Powers named above, that is, to the United States, Japan, the parties to the Locarno treaties, the British Dominions and India, was based entirely upon practical considerations. It was the desire of the United States that the negotiations be successfully concluded at the earliest possible moment and that the treaty become operative without the delay that would inevitably result were prior universal acceptance made a condition precedent to its coming into force.

My Government felt, moreover, that if these Powers could agree upon a simple renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy there could be no doubt that most, if not all, of the other Powers of the world would find the formula equally acceptable and would hasten to lend their unqualified support to so impressive a movement for the perpetuation of peace.

The United States has, however, been anxious from the beginning that no State should feel deprived of an opportunity to

participate promptly in the new treaty and thus not only align itself formally and solemnly with this new manifestation of the popular demand for world peace, but also avail itself of the identical benefits enjoyed by the original signatories.

Accordingly in the draft treaty proposed by it the United States made specific provision for participation in the treaty by any and every Power desiring to identify itself therewith, and this same provision is found in the definite instrument signed today in Paris.

It will be observed also that the Powers signing the treaty have recorded in the preamble their hope that every nation of the world will participate in the treaty, and in that connection I am happy to be able to say that my Government has already received from several Governments informal indications that they are prepared to do so at the earliest moment. This convincing evidence of the world-wide interest and sympathy which the new treaty has evoked is most gratifying to all the Governments concerned.

In these circumstances I have the honor formally to communicate to your Excellency for your consideration and for the approval of your Government, if it concurs therein, the text of the above-mentioned treaty as signed today in Paris, omitting only that part of the preamble which names the several plenipotentiaries. The text is as follows: [Here follows the text of the treaty.]

The provisions regarding ratification and adherence are, as your Excellency will observe, found in the third and last article.

That article provides that the treaty shall take effect as soon as the ratifications of all the Powers named in the preamble shall have been deposited in Washington, and that it shall be open to adherence by all the other Powers of the world, instruments evidencing such adherence to be deposited in Washington also.

Any Power desiring to participate in the treaty may thus exercise the right to adhere thereto, and my Government will be happy to receive at any time appropriate notices of adherence from those Governments wishing to contribute to the success of this new movement for world peace by bringing their peoples within its beneficent scope.

It will be noted in this connection that the treaty expressly provides that when it has once come into force it shall take effect immediately between an adhering Power and the other parties thereto, and it is therefore clear that any Government adhering promptly will fully share in the benefits of the treaty at the very moment it comes into effect.

I shall shortly transmit for your Excellency's convenient reference a printed pamphlet containing the text in translation of M. Briand's original proposal to my Government of June 20, 1927, and the complete record of the subsequent diplomatic correspondence on the subject of a multi-lateral treaty for the renunciation of war. I shall also transmit, as soon as received from my Government, a certified copy of the signed treaty.

THE SOVIET REPLY ACCEPTING THE TREATY

THE reply of the Soviet Government, made by Maxim Litvinov, Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to the French Ambassador in Moscow on Aug. 31, after the introductory paragraphs, reads as follows:

(1) Having taken from the very beginning of its existence as a basis for its foreign policy the preservation and security of universal peace, the Soviet Government has always and everywhere acted as a constant adherent to peace and has gone halfway to meet every other nation in this direction. At the same time the Soviet Government has considered and considers now that the carrying out of a plan for universal and full disarmament is the only actual means of preventing armed conflicts, because in an atmosphere of general feverish armament every competition of the Powers inevitably leads to war, which is the more destructive the more perfect is the system of armaments.

The project for full disarmament has been worked out in detail and proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union in the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, but unfortunately it did not gain the support of the commission, the majority of which included representatives of those Powers which are original participants of the pact just signed in Paris. The project was declined, notwithstanding that its acceptance and realization would have meant a real guarantee of peace.

(2) Not desiring to omit any chance to contribute to the reduction of the burden of armament, painful for the peoples and masses of the world, the Soviet Government, after having had its proposal for complete disarmament rejected, not only did not refuse to discuss partial disarmament, but through its delegation to the Preparatory Commission came itself with a project for partial but very essential disarmament, worked out in detail. However, the Soviet Government must state regretfully that this project also did not meet with the sympathy of the Preparatory Commission, thus demonstrating once more in full the weakness of the League of Nations in the cause of disarmament, which is the strongest guarantee of peace and the most powerful method of abolition of war. There was obvious resistance to the Soviet proposals from part and almost all of the States which first gave their signatures to the pact for prohibition of wars.

(3) Together with the systematic defense of the cause of disarmament long before the idea of the newly signed Pact of Paris arose, the Soviet Government also addressed to the other Powers a proposal anent the prohibition by the conclusion of bilateral compacts not only of wars foreseen by the Pact of Paris but wars of all attacks one upon the other, and all armed conflicts whatsoever. Some States, such as Germany, Turkey, Afghanistan, Persia and Lithuania, accepted the same proposal and concluded with the Soviet Government corresponding pacts;

other States passed silently this proposal and evaded reply, but a third of the States declined the proposal with this strange explanation, that unconditional prohibition of attack was incompatible with their obligations toward the League of Nations. This, however, did not prevent the same powers from signing the Pact of Paris with a full silence in the very text of the compact concerning the inviolability of the said obligations.

(4) The above-mentioned facts are irrefutable proof of the fact that the very idea of suspension of wars and armed conflicts as a matter of international policy is a basic idea of Soviet foreign policy. Nevertheless, the initiators of the Pact of Paris did not deem it necessary to invite the Soviet Government to participate in the negotiations for the Pact of Paris and the elaboration of the very text of the compact. In the same way were not invited also Powers which were indeed interested in guaranteeing peace because either they have been the objects of attacks (Turkey and Afghanistan) or are so now (the republic of the great Chinese people). The invitation to join in the compact as transmitted by the French Government also does not contain conditions which could allow the Soviet Government to influence the very text of the document signed in Paris. However, the Soviet Government puts as axiomatic premises that under no conditions can it be deprived of that right which Governments already signatory to the pact realized or could realize, and in exercise of this right it must first make several remarks concerning its attitude toward the compact itself.

(5) First of all, the Soviet Government cannot fail to express its deepest regret as to the absence in the Pact of Paris of any obligations whatsoever in the domain of disarmament. The Soviet delegation to the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament already has had the chance to declare that only the culmination of a compact forbidding war with the full realization of universal disarmament can give real effect in guaranteeing universal peace and that, on the contrary, an international treaty "forbidding war" and unaccompanied by even such elementary guarantee as limitation of incessantly growing armaments, will remain a dead letter without real meaning. Recent public declarations of some participants of the Pact of Paris concerning the inevitableness of further armaments even after the conclusion of the agreement confirm this. New international groupings which have appeared at the same time, especially in connection with the question of renewal of armaments, have still more underlined this situation. Therefore, the conditions created by the compact reveal at the present time more than ever the necessity of taking resolute measures in the domain of disarmament.

(6) Considering the text of the compact itself, the Soviet Government thinks it necessary to point out the insufficient definiteness and clearness in the first clause concerning the formula for the prohibition of wars itself, this having the effect of permitting various and arbitrary interpretations.

It believes on its part that international war must be forbidden not only as so-called "an instrument of national policy" but also a method serving other purposes (for instance, oppression, liberative national movements, &c.).

In the opinion of the Soviet Government, there must be forbidden not only wars in the form of the juridical meaning of this word but also such military actions as, for instance, intervention, blockade, military occupation of foreign territory, foreign ports, &c. History in recent years had known several military actions of this kind which have brought enormous calamities to various nations. The Soviet Republics themselves have been the objects of such attacks and now 400,000,000 Chinese suffer from similar attacks. More than that, similar military actions often grow into big wars, which it is already absolutely impossible to stay.

Meanwhile these most important questions from the viewpoint of the preservation of peace are silently passed over. Furthermore, the same first clause of the compact mentions the necessity of solving all international disputes and conflicts exclusively by peaceful means. In this connection the Soviet Government considers that among the unpeaceful means forbidden by the compact must also be included such as the refusal to re-establish peaceful and normal relations, or the rupture of these relations, between peoples, because such actions mean the suspension of peaceful methods in solution of disputes and by their very existence contribute to the creation of an atmosphere favorable to the breaking out of wars.

(7) Among the reservations made in the diplomatic correspondence between the original participants of the compact, especial attention of the Soviet Government is drawn by the reservation of the British Government in Paragraph 10 of its note of May 19, this year. By virtue of this reservation the British Government reserved a freedom of action toward a series of regions which it does not even enumerate. If it means provinces already belonging to the British Empire or its Dominions, they are already included in the compact in which are foreseen cases of their being attacked, so that the reservation of the British Government regarding them must seem at least superfluous.

However, if other regions are meant, the participants in the compact are entitled to know exactly where the freedom of action of the British Government begins and where it ends. But the British Government reserves freedom of action not only in case of military attack on these regions but even at any "unfriendly act" of so-called "interference," while it obviously reserves the right to an arbitrary definition of what is

considered an "unfriendly act" of "interference," justifying commencement of military action on the part of the British Government.

Recognition of such a right of the British Government would mean justification of war and could be a contagious example also for the other participants to the compact, who, in virtue of their equality, might take the same right regarding other regions, and in result perhaps there would be no such place on the terrestrial globe regarding which the compact could be applied. Indeed, the reservation of the British Government contains an invitation addressed to every other participant to act as exempt from this exaction here and in other regions.

This reservation the Soviet Government cannot but consider as an attempt to use the compact itself as an instrument of imperialistic policy. However, inasmuch as the note of the British Government has not been communicated, the Soviet Government as an integral part of the compact or its supplements, it therefore cannot be considered obligatory for the Soviet Government. Similarly, other reservations contained in the diplomatic correspondence concerning the compact between the original participants may be passed over.

The Soviet Government also cannot agree with any other reservations which can serve as justification for war, particularly with reservations which are made in said correspondence in order to keep effective the compact and resolutions entailed by affiliation with the League of Nations and the Locarno agreements.

(8) Summarizing what has been said above, one must state the absence of the compact of obligations concerning disarmaments, which is the only essential element of peace guarantee; the insufficiency and indefiniteness of the formula itself for prohibition of war and the existence of several reservations having as their object beforehand the suspension of even any appearance of obligations toward the cause of peace.

Nevertheless, inasmuch as the Pact of Paris objectively imposes certain obligations on the powers before public opinion and gives the Soviet Government a new chance to put before all the participants of the compact a question most important for peace, that is, the question of disarmament, the solution of which is the only guarantee of prevention of war—the Soviet Government expresses its willingness to sign the Pact of Paris.

In consequence of this assent I shall have the honor to hand over to you, M. Ambassador, the corresponding act of my Government in its joining in this compact as soon as the formalities connected with this are ended.



Governor's Smith's Proposals to Change Prohibition Laws

A Debate

The new phase of the prohibition controversy opened by Governor Smith's definite proposals for changes in the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act, set forth in his acceptance speech on Aug. 22, are discussed from opposing standpoints in the two following articles, both written by Democrats.

George Gordon Battle, who supports Governor Smith's proposals and argues that they are not only constitutional but necessary for the maintenance of the sovereign rights of the States, is a well-known New York lawyer, who has been a member of the bar for thirty-seven years.

Orville S. Poland, who declares the Smith prohibition program to be a "constitutional monstrosity" and clearly intended to bring back alcohol, is also a lawyer. He has been head of the Legal Department of the Anti-Saloon League of New York since 1921, and has drafted or assisted in drafting many State and Federal prohibitory statutes.

For the purposes of reference the full text of Governor Smith's proposals is also printed.

I—Changes Based Upon Democratic Principles

By GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

THERE can be no valid objection upon constitutional grounds to the proposals for the reform of the prohibition laws set forth by Governor Smith in his speech of acceptance on Aug. 22, 1928. They are so clearly in conformity with our Federal Constitution that it is impossible to see how any objection on that ground could be advanced. Indeed, the objective of the proposals is identical with the purpose of the framers of the Constitution. The spirit of the proposals is that which animates the whole document. The fundamental thought of Governor Smith is to restore to the several States the power to deal with the liquor question, limiting that power, however, in such manner as to prevent without any doubt the return of the saloon.

That this is good Democratic States' rights doctrine can be denied by no one who is familiar with the political history of our country. The chief objection to the adoption of the Federal Constitution arose from

the well-founded jealousies of the different States that their sovereign rights would be encroached upon by the National Government. In order to allay these fears and to procure the consent of the States, it was agreed that the first ten amendments, containing a bill of rights guarding the fundamental guaranties of life, liberty and property against the unwarranted exercise of power by the Federal Government, should be promptly submitted by Congress to the people. The implied pledge thus given was carried out by the First Congress, which promptly adopted and submitted to the people of the several States these first ten amendments, which have ever since been regarded as the national bill of rights.

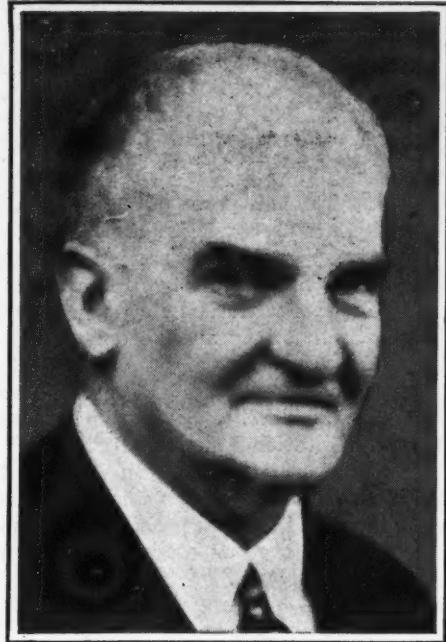
It is the Tenth Amendment which protects the States from encroachment by the central Government. That amendment provides: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to

the States respectively or to the people." Chief Justice Marshall has said that this amendment was framed for the purpose of quieting the excessive jealousies which had been excited. (*McCullough vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheat., 406.) The Supreme Court has also declared that "any legislation by Congress beyond the limits of the power delegated would be trespassing upon the rights of the States or the people and would not be the supreme law of the land but null and void." (*U. S. vs. Williams*, 194 U. S., 295).

Among the rights thus reserved to the States is the police power; and included in that power is the right to deal with the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. It was therefore clearly the purpose of the framers of the Constitution and the founders of our Government that this subject should be left within the exclusive jurisdiction of the several States. It was their purpose, as expressed in the Tenth Amendment, to preserve the independence of the individual States with respect to local affairs concerning which there would be wide differences of opinion between the people of the different States. It was the purpose of this policy to prevent evils of the character of those which flow from the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act. It was recognized that it was impossible to enforce a sumptuary law in a State which was overwhelmingly opposed to it. For that reason, the Tenth Amendment assured each State complete local self-government with respect to sumptuary laws and other matters of like character. The Eighteenth Amendment was the first departure in the history of this country from that fundamental policy embedded in the Constitution. That amendment has imposed upon the National Government the very task from which the Fathers sought to relieve it—namely, the obligation to enforce a law in States in which it is strongly disapproved. Governor Smith's proposals seek merely to bring the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act into reconciliation with this basic and time-honored constitutional provision for local self-government by the States.

The program of Governor Smith divides itself into two parts.

The first part concerns itself with an amendment to the Volstead act. It calls



Wide World

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

for a scientific and factually correct definition of what constitutes an intoxicating beverage, it being conceded that there are many beverages containing more than one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol which are in fact non-intoxicating. Such a change in the Volstead act would have to be enacted by the Federal Congress. This statute would provide for and fix, according to Governor Smith's proposal, a new and truthful maximum alcoholic content. That maximum would, of course, be so limited as to make non-intoxicating the beverages in question. Any State could then fix its own alcoholic content within that maximum and enact that within its own borders there could be traffic in beverages which would not exceed the content thus fixed by the State. Such a statute would be strictly within the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment. It would fix a maximum within that amendment and would require that any beverage sold in any State under the provisions of the law must be within that limit, and must therefore be non-intoxicating. Such a change would be undeniably within the scope of the Eighteenth Amendment and

would transgress none of its provisions. It would rest upon the proposition that the maximum alcoholic content must necessarily be one which is non-intoxicating within the meaning of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The second branch of Governor Smith's proposal has to do with an amendment of the Eighteenth Amendment. It is frankly designed to permit a carefully safeguarded and controlled sale of intoxicating beverages for private consumption in those States where a majority of the people desire this result to be achieved. It contemplates an amendment of the Eighteenth Amendment in the manner provided by the Constitution. It can be adopted only if such an amendment is passed in accordance with the constitutional requirements for amending the Constitution. The method of enacting the amendment is therefore clearly within the provisions of the Constitution. It is just as constitutional to amend the Eighteenth Amendment as it was to amend the Constitution by the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The subject matter of the amendment proposed by Governor Smith is likewise in entire accord with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. He proposes merely that if his suggested amendment is legally adopted, according to the requirements of the Constitution, the people of the several States may, by referendum vote, authorize the sale of intoxicating beverages within the borders of their own States, the sale to be made only by the States themselves and the consumption of the beverage forbidden in the place where it is sold. As part of the plan it is contemplated that there shall be drastic Federal and State statutes which shall prohibit the importation or the sale within any State of any beverage which is illegal under the laws of that State. To enforce these laws there will be the power of the Federal Government, of the different State Governments and of public opinion—so essential to the enforcement of any law. This will be a most effective guaranty against bootlegging and against the illegal transportation of beverages into another State.

The fact that the consumption of the beverage sold by the State is to be forbidden in the place where it is sold will, of course, prevent the return of the saloon in

any form. If it is impossible for the purchaser to drink the beverage where it is bought, of course there can be no bars or saloons. Such a provision will automatically and completely prevent the return of that evil against which Governor Smith has so frequently and so emphatically declaimed.

FREEDOM FOR WET STATES

The striking feature of this proposal is that it recognizes the wishes of the citizens of the Dry States. It preserves for them the Federal ban against interstate traffic in liquor. It also preserves for them the Federal enforcement of prohibition laws within their own borders. All that it does is to permit a carefully safeguarded sale of liquor wholly within the borders of those States where a majority of the people themselves desire it. Such a change in the Eighteenth Amendment would involve a recognition and a restatement in that amendment of the fundamental principle of our Constitution which reserves to the States their right of local self-government with respect to sumptuary laws.

As every student of history knows, Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party, was the foremost champion of the cause of States' rights. He was deeply apprehensive of the power of the central Government. It was his deliberate opinion that the enemies of popular liberty would seek to attain their purpose in this country by extending the Federal authority and restricting the power of the States. In a letter written on June 12, 1823, to his close friend, Judge William Johnson of South Carolina, he said:

I have stated above that the original objects of the Federalists were, first, to warp our Government more to the form and principles of monarchy, and, second, to weaken the barriers of the State Governments as co-ordinate powers. In the first they have been so completely foiled by the universal spirit of the nation that they have abandoned the enterprise * * * and are now aiming at this second object * * * and advancing fast towards an ascendancy.

There is no subject upon which the great statesman felt more keenly. Among his manuscripts were found two copies entitled "Resolutions Relative to the Alien and Sedition Laws." They were both in his own handwriting, one of them being a rough draft and the other very neatly and care-

fully prepared. They were undoubtedly the original of the celebrated Kentucky resolutions on the same subject. The first sentence of these resolutions reads as follows:

RESOLVED, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general Government; but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general Government for special purposes—delegated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the general Government assumes undelegated powers its acts are unauthorized, void and of no force.

Jefferson further states that this proposition is true, as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Such were the views of the Father of the Democratic Party. He believed that these rights, including the police power, were and should be reserved to the different States forever. He recognized the fact that the people of different States might and would have different standards and methods of living, different views on sumptuary measures, different tastes and different culture. It was his noble aspiration that the people of this country should be permitted to exercise freedom of the mind and of the spirit, as well as of the body. Indeed, he repeatedly states that freedom of the body is a very futile thing if there be not freedom of the mind and of the soul. In other words, he strongly maintained, and the true leaders of the Democratic Party have ever since urged, that there should be the fullest measure of local self-government consistent with national safety.

GOVERNOR SMITH'S PURPOSE

The Eighteenth Amendment in its present form and the Volstead act constitute glaring violations of that principle. The evils which Jefferson foresaw have come upon this country and cry aloud to Heaven.

It is the purpose of the proposals of Governor Smith to restore, as far as may be, the power to deal with this vexed and difficult subject to the several States under such provisions and regulations as will enable each State to carry out the desires of its people, and, furthermore, under such restrictions as will absolutely prevent the possibility of the recurrence of the saloon. It cannot be doubted that these proposals are not only within the provisions of the Constitution but they are intended to effectuate the true purpose and aim of that immortal document.

In conclusion, let us suppose that the people of the Dry States had been confronted with a suggested amendment of the Constitution forbidding any State to pass a prohibition law. They would have arisen in righteous and justified indignation against this attempt of the Wet States to curtail their right to enjoy prohibition within the borders of their own States. It should be brought home to the people of the Dry States that the converse of that proposition is now agitating millions of people in the other States of the Union, entirely irrespective of their personal desire to use alcoholic beverages. These people are profoundly convinced that prohibition is a local matter as to which there is a wide difference of opinion in the different States. The proposal of Governor Smith says, in effect, as follows:

People of the Dry States, we will continue to lend the aid of the Federal Government to the enforcement of prohibition within the borders of your States and to protect you against the importation of liquor into your own States. But by the same token, people of the other States, we will permit you, wholly within your own borders, to carry out the will of your own people.

Not only is this substantive proposal constitutional, but it is a reaffirmation of the principles held by Thomas Jefferson and his party, which originated, sustained and preserved the Constitution.

New York, Aug. 28, 1928.



II—The Smith Program an Attempt to Restore Alcohol

By ORVILLE S. POLAND

GOVERNOR SMITH never says anything with an air of academic detachment. His statement on prohibition in his acceptance speech is no exception to the rule. The man himself is a part of his statement and it cannot be considered apart from him.

There are a number of things that he is not at all clear about. For example, because Thomas Jefferson foresaw a nation of varying local habits and customs making a degree of local autonomy desirable, that is the reason, according to Governor Smith, why the Democratic platform in 1884 declared against sumptuary laws. The muddy stream is confined to the Governor's logic; his purpose is crystal clear. Ways and means bother him, but his objective is well defined. What he wants is more alcohol easily obtainable.

We might as well be dispassionate about it. Alcohol is the crux of the whole situation. Nobody wants beer; nobody wants liqueurs. The supply of dealcoholized beer is unlimited; every delicatessen displays vermouth (non-alcoholic). The aim of the anti-prohibitionist is to get more of the drug alcohol; the purpose of prohibition is to interdict its beverage use. Every legislative or administrative act touching on the liquor traffic must be related to the question of whether it makes alcohol more or less readily available for beverage purposes.

Every official act of Alfred E. Smith relating to the subject matter has been consistently designed to make beverage alcohol more easily available. The method has varied from time to time, but there has been a complete unity of purpose. Of late there has been a warm discussion of his "record" on liquor legislation. It is of moment here only as it indicates the consistency of his present proposals with his past record and pronouncements. In the past he has never favored any measure that would restrict the distribution or manufacture of intoxicants. He has always favored every measure that would make alcohol more easily available and that would be advantageous to those

engaged in the business—distillers, brewers, saloon-keepers. He himself has never denied this fact. He was opposed to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment; he favored a beer law for New York; he recommended a resolution to Congress to legalize more alcohol in beer and wine; he advocated and signed the repeal of the New York State enforcement law. All these acts have been designed to make intoxicating liquors easier to obtain—not harder. They are all characterized by a desperate opportunism seizing upon State's rights or a referendum vote or whatever might be the handiest instrument for getting always the same thing—more alcohol.

Governor Smith's first emphasis in his speech of acceptance is upon his regard for his oath of office, especially as it relates to the enforcement of prohibition. He is dramatic as he visualizes the scene; he is vehement as he asserts his honesty; and he is indignant as he condemns political chicanery and corruption in enforcement. He says: "I shall live up to that oath to the last degree. I shall to the very limit execute the pledge of our platform 'to make an honest endeavor to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and laws enacted pursuant thereto.'" It does not challenge the veracity of the Governor to try to find out what he means by "the last degree," "the very limit" and "an honest endeavor to enforce." These phrases are susceptible of personal interpretation. How has Governor Smith interpreted similar statements in the past?

In 1923 Governor Smith justified the repeal of the State law to enforce prohibition, in a message accompanying his signature to the measure. Among other things he said: "Let it be understood once and for all that this repeal does not in the slightest degree lessen the obligation of peace officers of the State to enforce in its strictest letter the Volstead act, and warning to that effect is herein contained as coming from the Chief Executive of the State of New York.

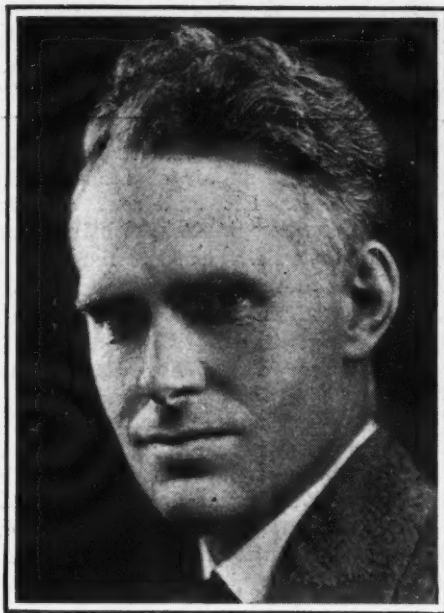
* * * There will be no let-up on the part of the police officials of this State in the enforcement of the Volstead act."

GOVERNOR SMITH'S INACTION

I have kept in fairly close touch with such matters, but I cannot recall a single act of initiative on the part of the Governor during all these last five years which could be construed as a fulfillment of his "warning." It can scarcely be that there has been no necessity for such act. The Governor himself, in his acceptance speech, speaks of the present "disregard of the prohibition laws." In his message to the Democratic Convention he says that "bootlegging and lawlessness are now prevalent throughout the country." The Committee of Fourteen, in its recent report, points to a condition coincident with the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law and says: "No similar places have existed since the days of the Raines law hotel and the saloon with back rooms." Surely these speakeasies are neither legal nor is their existence unknown to the Governor or the "peace officers of the State." It is no overstatement to say that prohibition enforcement conditions in New York are notoriously as bad as any, if not the worst, in the nation. New York and Maryland, two States without a State enforcement law, are the only two which show a new high level in deaths from alcohol.

Has there been "no let-up"? The liquor violation cases in the State courts of New York have fallen from 3,078 to 0; for the year 1921-1922 the fines have fallen from \$216,199 to 0. There has been no corresponding increase in cases and fines in the Federal courts. Would Governor Smith have us accept this record in New York as an earnest of how he would interpret "the last degree," "the very limit," "an honest endeavor to enforce"?

When Governor Smith raises the issue of States' rights, he furnishes an example of the desperate opportunism to which I have already referred. He is not really concerned about local autonomy at all. If he were, he would make the application in fields other than the one solely concerned with the prohibition of intoxicants. He has seized upon States' rights as a handy and perhaps popular catch phrase. He has not been thinking clearly on the question. Nor



ORVILLE S. POLAND

is he accurate when he invokes the authority of Woodrow Wilson in support of this contention. There will be many, many Democrats who honor the memory of Woodrow Wilson—in which number I count myself—who will be very indignant at Governor Smith's assertion that Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act because of any objection to the principle of the act itself or of the Eighteenth Amendment. President Wilson's record in support of prohibitory legislation is well known. It was he who signed the bills giving prohibition to the District of Columbia, to Alaska, to Hawaii, to Porto Rico, the bill rigidly prohibiting interstate traffic and advertising, the one prohibiting distilling and the sale of distilled liquors, the one making war-time prohibition, and, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, he approved the strict prohibition regulations for cantonments.

Only this Summer at the Houston convention Josephus Daniels asserted that he had then a letter from Woodrow Wilson written in the last days of Wilson's life in which Wilson gave his approval to the method and principle of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Another

member of Wilson's Cabinet two or three years ago very wrathfully expressed to me his resentment against attaching Wilson's name to any opposition to prohibition. After all, President Wilson's own words on refusing to sign the Volstead Act are perhaps most conclusive. He did not say, as Governor Smith asserts, that he vetoed the Volstead Act because he disapproved of legislation of universal application. He did say on Oct. 27, 1919, about a year after the armistice was signed:

The subject-matter treated in this measure deals with two distinct phases of the prohibition legislation. One part of the act under consideration is to enforce war-time prohibition. The other provides for the enforcement which was made necessary by the adoption of the constitutional amendment. I object to and cannot approve that part of this legislation with reference to war-time prohibition. It has to do with the enforcement of an act which was passed by reason of the emergencies of the war and whose objects have been satisfied in the demobilization of the army and navy and whose repeal I have already sought at the hands of Congress. * * * In all matters having to do with the personal habits and customs of large numbers of our people we must be certain that the established processes of legal change are followed. In no other way can the salutary object sought be accomplished or great reforms of this character be satisfactory and permanent.

Signed: WOODROW WILSON.

Every one but Governor Smith must have noted Woodrow Wilson's characterization of prohibition as a movement with a "salutary object" and as a "great reform."

NEED FOR UNIFORM LAWS

In any case the issue here is not basically one of States' rights. The adoption of uniform standards does not mean the destruction of the powers of the individual States. Uniformity of legislation has come with the growing complexity of our relationships commercially between States and with the increasing facility of transportation and communication. The difference between isolated rural communities and thickly settled urban centres which existed to a degree in Thomas Jefferson's time and still does exist makes for the necessity for uniform application of legislation rather than for differentiation. If there were no contacts between different communities, if every community were self-sufficient, then each community might be a law unto itself, but it is impossible to confine to any one

part of the United States the social and economic influence of that part of the country. Hence an increasing necessity for uniform legislation. Recently I visited ten of the thirteen original Colonies in twenty-four hours. Professor Tugwell is authority for the statement that today over 90 per cent. of our business is in interstate commerce. There is no conflict between the maintenance of States' rights and the recognition of overlapping spheres of interest which must be subject to uniform rules and regulations. Such a recognition constitutes a major guarantee of the social and economic welfare of each individual State.

We had prohibition without the Eighteenth Amendment; that is, we had it in 90 per cent. of the territory and for 67 per cent. of the population. But the wet minority, concentrated in a few populous areas, made the accomplishment of prohibition very difficult. The Eighteenth Amendment simply means uniformity. To adopt Governor Smith's plan and to leave the regulation of the liquor traffic to each State (except in some details upon which I shall touch later) is to return to the situation which we had before the Eighteenth Amendment.

I cannot believe that Governor Smith means what he says when he states that he wants to leave this question to the individual determination of each State. At least, he cannot mean it as a matter of principle apart from the expedient of crying "States' rights" as applied to prohibition. Let us see how this principle would work applied to other illustrations where there is a similar necessity of uniformity of standard and regulation. In these illustrations there is no difference between them and prohibition except that prohibition is mandatory under the Constitution and these other uniform regulations are optional.

We might start with the most obvious thing and inquire whether Governor Smith would approve of the Negotiable Instruments law or the Sale of Goods act. If this should seem too obvious, we might base the inquiry upon the United States Warehouse act, adopted under a Democratic Administration and providing for uniform warehouse receipts, setting a standard that is recognized throughout the United States. Or, again, would Governor Smith abolish the practice of the Department of Agricul-

ture of issuing certificates of quality in the grading of agricultural products, which has made possible the trading in fruits and other agricultural products throughout the United States with the assurance that "Grade 1" means the same whether it originates in California or Florida, New York or Washington? Many other illustrations might be cited where various States, in order to have the benefits of uniform standards, have adopted Federal standards; for example, the Food and Drug act, the regulations of the Department of Agriculture, those of the Bureau of Animal Industry, the standards established under the United States Grains Standards act, and so on. It is interesting to note that among the States availing themselves of this protection are several of those supposedly most jealous of States' rights—Florida, Arkansas, Georgia, Oklahoma, Mississippi.

Exploitation of the public by public utilities, especially in the sale of electric power, is very largely the result of a situation such as always arises under a plan like Governor Smith's plan for diversity of standards and lack of uniform control. Those who look upon his candidacy as carrying a promise for relief from the present conditions with power companies running wild in the No Man's Land where neither the State nor the Federal Government has jurisdiction will be anxious to know whether Governor Smith would perpetuate this condition with the application of his so-called States' rights doctrine to power control.

The States' rights argument as used here is merely the invocation of a fetish. The question is not one of States' rights, but of the advisability of uniform legislation in an increasingly complex national organism. If Governor Smith is against uniformity, he is against all these measures which I have just cited. I cannot believe he is against them. He is just for more alcohol.

VOLSTEAD DEFINITION SCIENTIFIC

Governor Smith would attempt an emergency expedient in order quickly to get more alcohol. He would change the standard contained in the Volstead Act so that a non-intoxicating beverage might legally contain more than one-half of one per cent. of alcohol. He says that the

definition contained in the Volstead Act is unscientific. Quite the contrary. It is highly scientific, and any increase in the amount of alcohol would be to make the definition less scientific. The purpose of the definition is to restrict the proportion of an admittedly dangerous agency—alcohol. At first thought one would expect a complete prohibition of any alcohol whatever, but the concession of the one-half of one per cent. is a recognition of the possibility of the presence of alcohol in negligible amounts which there would be no reason for prohibiting. The one-half of one per cent. is scientific because there has to be a factor of safety. All restrictive legislation designed to promote the health and safety of the people contains such a factor of safety. This is true in building regulations. This is true in the establishing of the maximum bacteria count in a water or milk supply. It is true in an automobile speed limit. No such regulation ever is set as close to the danger point as it is possible to get it. A factor of safety is always allowed just as in engineering projects and for the same reason. To increase the amount of alcohol permissible in a beverage so as to have it as nearly intoxicating as it would be possible to get it would be a distinctly unscientific provision. Once more, the only object is to get more alcohol.

Governor Smith's approval of the methods adopted by our Canadian neighbors is once more an approval of getting more alcohol. It is true that there is no such thing as the "Canadian system," unless diversity of standards and the impossibility of the assertion of the right of any single Province of the Dominion to its integrity in respect to maintaining prohibition be considered the Canadian system.

It is hardly within the scope of this article to discuss the experience of the various Canadian Provinces in detail, but one thing should be borne in mind. The liquor control policy is a party measure, and the Canadian Government is bound to defend its policy. One need expect no official statement from Canada except in praise of the liquor control system. One might as well expect Secretary Kellogg to condemn the policy of the United States in Nicaragua or Governor Smith to proclaim his own

project for the consolidation of governmental departments to be a failure.

Occasionally a straw indicates the way the wind blows in Canada. The same day that the *Toronto Globe* proclaimed in its headlines, "Twenty-four Dead From Alcoholism—New York City Has Fearful Drinking Toll," Winnipeg was registered as having eleven deaths from alcoholism under Government control. If the deaths from alcoholism in New York City had been in the same proportion there would have been 330 deaths in New York instead of 24. An increase in automobile liability insurance coincident with liquor control in Ontario is an indication of the judgment of cold-blooded actuarial science.

These considerations probably had nothing to do with Governor Smith's approval of what they are doing in Canada. The system used in the various Provinces in Canada means more liquor sold—more alcohol. This is reflected in the value of liquor securities. Four leading liquor stocks show an increment of over \$79,000,000 with the adoption of the liquor control policy. The increase in value runs all the way from 400 per cent. to 800 per cent. Only the most guileless can fail to find a reason for the warm espousal of Governor Smith's liquor platform by such men as Mr. Busch, Mr. Ruppert, or even Mr. du Pont with his interest in National Distillers Products Corporation.

A CONSTITUTIONAL MONSTROSITY

From the standpoint of the constitutional principle involved, Governor Smith's proposal to amend the Eighteenth Amendment is probably the most important thing in his declaration. My impression is that the proposition is a constitutional monstrosity made without consultation with competent legal authority.

The Eighteenth Amendment is a grant of power. It gives police power to Congress. It reserves to the States the right to exercise their inherent power in the same subject-matter limited only by the restrictions of the supremacy of the Federal law.

The Federal Government is a body of delegated powers, and those powers not delegated to the Government are reserved to the States or the people. Governor Smith now proposes an amendment to the Eight-

teenth Amendment which would "give to each individual State itself, only after approval by a referendum popular vote of its people, the right wholly within its borders to import, manufacture or cause to be manufactured and sell alcoholic beverages, the sale to be made only by the State itself and not for consumption in any public place."

It is necessary to inquire how the Federal Government can give power to any State. That question is basic. An amendment to the Eighteenth Amendment might, in effect, repeal the Eighteenth Amendment and vacate the grant of power which it constitutes. If such an amendment were made, the police power now and always inherent in the States would continue to be exercised by the States, but it would no longer be subject to the provision that the United States "Constitution and the laws enacted pursuant thereto are the supreme law of the land, anything in the laws or the Constitution of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." The exercise of the police power of the States would cease to be subject to this restriction because the kind of amendment that Governor Smith proposes would abolish the Federal legislation which sets the limitation on the States. It is constitutionally unthinkable either that the Federal Government could grant power to the States or that, conversely, it could put a restriction on the exercise of the inherent power of the States apart from the restrictions just mentioned. That is, the Federal Government could not give up the power that has been delegated to it by the States and specifically stipulate that this power should be used by the States with some strings on it, as for example, a referendum popular vote, or only for sale by the State, or only for sale for consumption not in a public place. The utter constitutional impossibility of such a proposal is so evident that it scarcely requires further elucidation, although the matter is so important as to merit a discussion of greater scope than possible here.

Governor Smith's summation is acutely sensitive of the charges that he is the friend of the saloon. He reiterates the utterance that the saloon is and ought to be a defunct institution. As a matter of fact, this statement was first made by him in 1923—long

after it became politically fatal to be a friend of the saloon. The possibility of more mature judgment on the question should be conceded to the Governor; but what of his substitute? In the place of restricted public drinking he would establish unrestricted private drinking. Such a position is scarcely consistent with his concern for "the protection of our children's morals." It is consistent, however, with the statement made by Mayor Walker of New York in March, 1924, that if the people would put Governor Smith in the White House he would put drink in the homes of the people. The more recent statement of Mr. Raskob, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is to the same effect. Once more Governor Smith would make alcohol more easily available. He would avoid the stigma which attaches to one spe-

cific form of distribution, or to distribution under one name, and at the same time promote the distribution of the same dangerous commodity and facilitate its consumption under conditions even more detrimental to the morals and the welfare of the people. He would adopt this method only pursuant to a popular vote, but it is interesting to note in this connection that Governor Smith in his entire career has always opposed every popular vote which might mean less alcohol and has always advocated every popular vote, whether legal or not, which might get more alcohol.

He may be guilty of occasional lapses of logic and the occasional application of inappropriate principles, but there is a singular unity to all that Governor Smith advocates in dealing with the liquor problem—more alcohol.

III—Full Text of Governor Smith's Proposals

THE following is the full text of the section of Governor Smith's address of acceptance dealing with the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act:

The President of the United States has two constitutional duties with respect to prohibition. The first is embodied in his oath of office. If, with one hand on the Bible and the other hand reaching up to heaven, I promise the people of this country that "I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," you may be sure that I shall live up to that oath to the last degree. I shall to the very limit execute the pledge of our platform "to make an honest endeavor to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

The President does not make the laws. He does his best to execute them whether he likes them or not. The corruption in enforcement activities which caused a former Republican Prohibition Administrator to state that three-fourths of the dry agents were political ward heelers named by politicians without regard to civil service laws and that prohibition is the "new political pork barrel," I will ruthlessly stamp out. Such conditions cannot and will not exist under any administration presided over by me.

The second constitutional duty imposed upon the President is "To recommend to the Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Opinion upon prohibition cuts squarely across the

two great political parties. There are thousands of so-called "wets and dries" in each. The platform of my party is silent upon any question of change in the law. I personally believe that there should be change and I shall advise the Congress in accordance with my constitutional duty of whatever changes I deem "necessary or expedient." It will then be for the people and the representatives in the national and State legislatures to determine whether these changes shall be made.

I will state the reasons for my belief. In a book *Law and Its Origin*, recently called to my notice, James C. Carter, one of the leaders of the bar of this country, wrote of the conditions which exist "when a law is made declaring conduct widely practiced and widely regarded as innocent to be a crime." He points out that in the enforcement of such a law "trials become scenes of perjury and subornation of perjury; juries find abundant excuses for rendering acquittal or persisting in disagreement contrary to their oaths" and he concludes: "Perhaps worst of all is that general regard and reverence for law are impaired, a consequence the mischief of which can scarcely be estimated." These words, written years before the Eighteenth Amendment or the Volstead act, were prophetic of our situation today.

I believe in temperance. We have not achieved temperance under the present system. The mothers and fathers of young men and women throughout this land know the anxiety and worry which has been brought to them by their children's use of liquor in a way which was unknown before prohibition. I believe in reverence for law. Today disregard of the prohibition laws is insidiously sapping respect for all law. I

raise, therefore, what I profoundly believe to be a great moral issue involving the righteousness of our national conduct and the protection of our children's morals.

The remedy, as I have stated, is the fearless application of Jeffersonian principles. Jefferson and his followers foresaw the complex activities of this great, wide-spread country. They knew that in rural, sparsely settled districts people would develop different desires and customs from those in densely populated sections, and that if we were to be a nation united on truly national matters there had to be a differentiation in local laws to allow for different local habits. It was for this reason that the Democratic platform in 1884 announced "We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizens and interfere with individual liberty," and it was for this reason that Woodrow Wilson vetoed the Volstead act.

In accordance with this Democratic principle, some immediate relief would come from an amendment to the Volstead law giving a scientific definition of the alcoholic content of an intoxicating beverage. The present definition is admittedly inaccurate and unscientific. Each State would then be allowed to fix its own standard of alcoholic content, subject always to the proviso that that standard could not exceed the maximum fixed by the Congress.

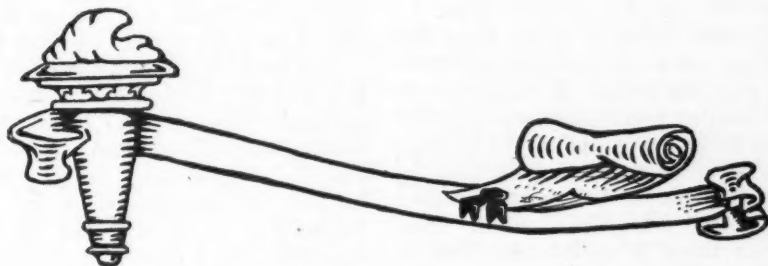
I believe, moreover, that there should be submitted to the people the question of some change in the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment. Certainly, no one foresaw when the amendment was ratified the conditions which exist today of bootlegging, corruption and open violation of the law in all parts of the country. The people themselves should after this eight years of trial be permitted to say whether existing conditions should be rectified. I personally believe in an amendment in the Eighteenth

Amendment which would give to each individual State itself only after approval by a referendum popular vote of its people the right wholly within its borders to import, manufacture or cause to be manufactured, and sell alcoholic beverages, the sale to be made only by the State itself and not for consumption in any public place. We may well learn from the experience of other nations. Our Canadian neighbors have gone far in this manner to solve this problem by the method of sale made by the State itself and not by private individuals.

There is no question here of the return of the saloon. When I stated that the saloon "is and ought to be a defunct institution in this country" I meant it. I mean it today. I will never advocate nor approve any law which directly or indirectly permits the return of the saloon.

Such a change would preserve for the dry States the benefit of a national law that would continue to make interstate shipment of intoxicating beverages a crime. It would preserve for the dry States Federal enforcement of prohibition within their own borders. It would permit to citizens of other States a carefully limited and controlled method of effectuating the popular will wholly within the borders of those States without the old evil of the saloon.

Such a method would re-establish respect for law and terminate the agitation which has injected discord into the ranks of the great political parties which should be standing for the accomplishment of fundamental programs for the nation. I may fairly say even to those who disagree with me that the solution I offer is one based upon the historic policy of the Democratic Party, to assure to each State its complete right of local self-government. I believe it is a solution which would today be offered by Jefferson, or Jackson, or Cleveland, or Wilson, if those great leaders were with us.



Marxism Today

During the eighty years that have passed since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, by Marx and Engels, which is generally regarded as initiating the modern Socialist movement, and more especially in the last few years, much has happened to put to the test the doctrines we know as Marxism. For that reason the discussion in the following articles, each by a writer with a different point of view and well qualified to deal with the subject, will be of considerable interest at the present time.

Thomas Nixon Carver, Professor of Political Economy at Harvard for twenty-six years, is the author of many books on economic and social subjects, the most notable of his recent works being *The Present Economic Revolution in the United States*.

Harold J. Laski, a graduate of Oxford and at one time a member of the Harvard Faculty, is Professor of Political Science in the University of London and author of a number of works which have attracted wide attention, the most recent being that entitled *Communism*.

Morris Hillquit, a lawyer who has been practicing in New York for a quarter of a century, is the outstanding figure of the Socialist Party of America. He is the author of books on the history of American Socialism and more recent developments in Socialist theory and practice.

I—The Fundamental Error of Marxism

By THOMAS NIXON CARVER

"IF Mr. Ford should live for another hundred years," writes a radical correspondent, "and should continue to accumulate wealth as rapidly during the rest of his life as he has during the last twenty-five years, he would, before he died, own most of the country, and the rest of us would be his dependents." The obvious answer was: "If, as you seem to assume, every time Mr. Ford makes a dollar he does it by subtracting a dollar from the wealth of the rest of the country, your prediction is probably sound. But suppose we start with another assumption, namely, that every time he makes a dollar for himself, he does it by adding several dollars to the wealth of the rest of the country rather than subtracting from that wealth. How long do you think it would take him, at this rate, to gobble up all the wealth of the country and make the rest of us his dependents?"

The assumption on which my correspondent bases his prediction is common to all that class of radicals who propose an overthrow of the present economic system. Any

intelligent person can reason correctly if he is supplied with premises. The real difficulty is to know a sound premise when one sees it. The difficulty with logical reasoning is that if one starts with a false premise, the more logically one reasons the further astray one goes. That capital is non-productive but only acquisitive is the proposition on which are based many false conclusions, though, if the premise be assumed, they are arrived at logically enough.

The most complete exposition of doctrines based on this fundamental premise is found in the writings of Karl Marx, particularly in *Das Kapital*. He was a philosopher and capable of reasoning clearly enough, and he had the courage, which many lack, to follow his reasoning to its ultimate conclusions. The difficulty is not with his reasoning. It is with the assumption with which he starts. Any one who accepts that assumption must follow him to the bitter end. If we start with a different assumption and reason with equal accuracy, we reach a very different set of conclusions.

Every one of the characteristic Marxian

doctrines, except the economic interpretation of history, is directly related to or dependent upon that premise. As to the economic interpretation of history, it has nothing whatever to do with Socialism except to prepare the way for certain predictions based upon the theory of the predatory nature of capital. It lends quite as much support to individualism as to Socialism, and its most thoroughgoing exponents, such as Buckle and Spencer, were individualists and not Socialists. It leads as inevitably to individualism if we assume the productivity of capital as it does to Socialism if we assume the non-productivity of capital. Marx used it merely to clear the ground for his main argument, which was that neither reverence for the divine right of political or religious rulers, for infallible authorities or divine revelation, for the sanctity of property, constitutions or other institutions, nor anything else can forever stand in the way of the economic interests of the people; that all these reverences and sanctities are mere inventions to protect the privileged classes and to prevent the masses from realizing their own economic interests; and that when capital has completed its work of impoverishing the masses and concentrating all wealth in the hands of a few, the masses will overthrow the capitalist system and set up a Socialist or a Communist State.

MARX'S ASSUMPTION

Having cleared the ground, and starting with the assumption of the essential predatoriness of capital, the ultimate triumph of Socialism becomes a logical prediction. Marx did not claim to be an advocate of Socialism so much as its discoverer, or rather the discoverer of its inevitableness, that is, of the forces which would inevitably bring to pass a proletarian revolution, either by political action where the masses vote, or by direct action, that is violence, where they do not.

The forces which were to bring about such a proletarian revolution were not difficult to understand. If capital in private hands is merely a means of exploitation and extortion, and never a means of production or service, it must follow that the use of capital by a private owner makes others poorer as it makes him richer. As he grows

richer and richer in capital he merely has greater and greater power of exploitation and extortion, that is of making others poorer and still poorer. In short, capital is the agency which inevitably makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. This is Marx's so-called law of the concentration of wealth.

In this respect, capital would not differ essentially, so far as its general effect was concerned, from the tools of the burglar or the weapons of the highwayman. If we could imagine a highwayman using his ill-gotten gains for the purpose of equipping himself with larger and larger means of offense and defense, it would be easy to predict his ultimate arrival at a position of sovereignty. In fact, most monarchical houses arrived at sovereignty in precisely that way. The highwayman's weapons enable him to subtract wealth from other people in order to add to his own. They do not enable him to earn wealth by adding to the wealth of other people. If capital is like that, that is, if it is merely a means of extorting wealth from others and in no sense a means of earning wealth by adding to that of others, much the same results would follow. We could safely predict the ultimate emergence of one great super-capitalist paralleling the former emergence of a great super-bandit into a monarch. But if, in so far as capital is a means of earning wealth by adding to the wealth of others, in the very act of doing so it creates new capital as its own rival. At any rate the observed fact is that prosperity is more widely diffused in capitalistic countries than in non-capitalistic countries. The reasons are clear.

Some of the followers of Marx, finding that they cannot ignore such facts and such reasoning, are retreating to a new line of defense. They are claiming that while prosperity may be diffused, at least temporarily, yet the law of concentration is still operating, but in a different way. They point to large-scale industry as an example of concentrated *management*. But concentrated management and concentrated ownership are very different things. Marx wrote about ownership, and along with concentrated ownership, in his mind, went the iron law of wages, the impoverishment of the masses and the revolution. Concentrated manage-

ment we must have, apparently, with our vast markets, our gigantic engines and expensive machines. Even Socialism—State, Syndicalist or Soviet—would require concentrated management. But concentrated management is quite consistent with diffused ownership, and the two things are developing side by side in this country. There are, of course, dangers in concentrated management, especially the danger of irresponsible management, either under Government or private ownership, and the dangers are about as great in one case as in the other; but that is not the same as concentrated ownership.

There is, of course, even according to the Marxian theory, a lower limit to the poverty of the masses. They must be given enough to enable them to work and to reproduce their kind, at least in sufficient numbers to stock the labor market. Even live stock, including slaves, must be given that much if the owners are to make anything out of them. What the Marxian calls "wage slaves," and what others call "free laborers," can never get any more under the capitalistic system. This is the so-called iron law of wages. The labor cost theory of value is not Marxian, but was taken over from the economists of the eighteenth century. It is now discarded by all economists in favor of the utility theory.

SURPLUS VALUE THEORY

As a corollary of the theory that capital in private hands is essentially predatory, it was held by Marx that there is something in the nature of interest, rent and profits, which he grouped together as constituting the income of the capitalist, which necessarily absorbs all surplus value, leaving the laborer poor in the midst of progress. Henry George, discriminating between the rent of land on the one hand and interest and profits on the other, ascribed to rent all that malign power of absorbing surplus wealth, claiming that, from the very nature of rent, the landlord must get all the surplus resulting from improvements in production. Both theories are demonstrated by events to be wrong. A popular movie actor, prize fighter, author or any one else who satisfies a popular demand becomes rich without owning either land or capital. Any occupation or trade in which workers are



Bachrach

THOMAS NIXON CARVER

scarce prospers; any in which numbers are superabundant suffers impoverishment.

Another Marxian theory, unfortunately held also by many who do not regard themselves as Marxians, is that low wages, depriving the laborers of the power to buy the whole of their won product, necessarily result in under-consumption, or over-production, which means the same thing. Now there are excellent reasons why wages should be high,* but this is not one of them. If wages are low, not because productivity is low, but because capitalists are taking too much, it is true that laborers cannot buy much, but capitalists can buy a great deal. There is just as much money spent when interest, rent and profits are high, and wages low, as when wages are high and interest, rent and profits correspondingly low. Different things may be bought, or the same things may be bought in different proportions, when laborers have most of the spending money; but the sum

*There are also perfectly definite economic laws on which to base a perfectly definite program which will raise wages and equalize wealth. No Marxian is willing to see this point. To admit it is to admit that the overthrow of the capitalist system is unnecessary.

total of purchases is not increased unless the total purchasing power of all classes is increased. The Marxian theory of business depressions will not stand examination; it is not even based on good arithmetic.

But, after all, Marxism stands or falls with the proposition that capital is essentially predatory, that all interest is therefore unearned, and that the capitalists can only enrich themselves by impoverishing the non-capitalists, that is, the laborers. When it is suggested that capital is productive, it is not implied that capital alone, without either land or labor, can produce anything. It means merely that capital is an aid in production, or that industry is more productive when it is amply than when meagerly supplied with capital. If this were not true, but if capital were wholly predatory or parasitical, it would follow as a general rule that the richest countries, or the countries of highest wages, would be the countries where there was the least of this predatory power called capital or the fewest of these capitalistic parasites, and the countries of lowest wages the ones where there were the most parasites or where the predatory power called capital was greatest. Exactly the opposite is true. If capital were wholly predatory and in no sense an aid in production, the migrations of laborers would be away from countries where this predatory power abounds to countries where it is scarce. As a matter of fact, labor uniformly moves either toward localities and countries with new and undeveloped natural resources or toward countries with large accumulations of capital.

A CARIBBEAN INSTANCE

As I have written elsewhere, a student from one of the Caribbean Islands once told me that a number of years before there was considerable poverty on his island. There was not much employment, wages were low and young people were emigrating to Cuba or the continent to improve their condition. At the time he mentioned these facts he said that conditions were reversed. There was little unemployment, wages were higher than formerly and they had an immigration rather than an emigration problem. He had noticed, however, that the change occurred shortly after English and American capitalists had invested

a few million dollars in the sugar and banana industries. He asked me if I thought there was any connection between this fact and the change of conditions. If I had been a Marxian I should have said emphatically, "No! Capital is predatory and it makes the wage worker poorer instead of richer." Not being a Marxian I had to tell him that I thought there was a connection.

I had to tell him also that there were possibilities of evil in that situation. If immigration to that island remains free and unrestricted, the labor market may easily be flooded, with the result that, though many more laborers are employed (and to that extent the new capital is a benefit to labor), the average condition of the individual laborer may be no better than it used to be. Or if without imagination the native laborers take their new-found prosperity in the form of sexual indulgence, this also may, in a generation or two, so increase the labor supply, through a high birth rate, as to reduce wages to the old level.

For such a result there are several possible preventives. First, if other capitalists should invest new capital in the other islands, laborers in those islands would find employment at home and would not need to emigrate. Second, if, through restriction of immigration to his island and a rise in the standard of living, numbers could be kept within economic limits, the improvement of economic conditions would be permanent.

Economic principles are not limited to that small island. They apply equally to the problems of wages and general prosperity in every country, great or small. In this country, which is now the leading capitalistic country of the world, it is possible to pay higher wages than in other countries precisely because labor is equipped with more capital, that is, power-driven machinery, than in other countries. Being thus equipped, our industries turn out a larger product per worker without driving the workers any harder. This makes it possible to pay higher wages in this country.

Are tools, machinery, buildings and general industrial equipment capital? They are, though some have allowed themselves to be confused into calling the value which is embodied in those things by the name

of capital. This value is the only common denominator which is of any use to the economist, and he uses this common denominator when he desires to state the quality of capital in a given plant or group of plants. That is, he states the quantity as so many dollars, or dollars worth.

THE PRODUCTS OF LABOR

Are not these instruments of production themselves the products of labor? They are in the same sense and to the same extent that other goods are. But the labor which was expended on these buildings, engines, machines, tools, and so forth, was expended at one time. This labor which works in, on or with them is expended at a later time. How can labor expended at one time be coordinated with labor expended at another time? It does not coordinate itself automatically. The violin-maker who worked years ago and the violinist who plays today have their work coordinated only when the product of the one finds its way into the hands of the other. The same is true of the machine maker who worked years ago and the operative of today. The product of past labor does not find its own way to the worker of the present. A characteristic way is for some one to buy the product on which laborers have worked at one time, paying them for their work, and then hiring other laborers to work on it at another time. The one who does this is a capitalist. When the laborers of today themselves buy the product of past labor in the form of tools they are their own capitalists.

When it is affirmed that capital is useful in production, or that the capitalist performs the useful function of coordinating labor which is performed at different times, it is not implied that capital is never predatory. That could not be said even of labor. It is frequently predatory, especially mental labor. It is generally acquisitive. If capital invested in a distillery or a saloon is harmful, so also is the labor which operates the plant. Otherwise we should be put in the absurd position of saying that labor produces all wealth, including whisky, that therefore capital is entitled to no credit if whisky is considered good, but must bear all the blame if whisky is considered bad. If labor produces all whisky and cap-

ital none, then labor does all the harm or all the good which whisky does, and capital none. If capital is principally to blame for the harm done by whisky when whisky does harm, it must also be given its share of the credit for the good which whisky does, if whisky does good.

Again, capitalists sometimes deceive and swindle. So do laborers. There is not much difference between them on that score. Yet because some laborers slack their jobs, or try to get more than they earn, no one would be justified in saying that labor in general is predatory and unproductive. Any kind of power, mental, physical or financial, may be perverted to bad uses. This suggests the real line of procedure for the reformer through Government agency. It is simply to penalize as effectively as possible every such perversion, making it hazardous and therefore costly to use any kind of power predaciously, and to reward, as effectively as possible, every useful or productive use of power, whether that power is classified as physical, mental or financial. If this can be done successfully, the owner of capital, like the possessor of physical or mental power, will find it so unprofitable to pervert his power, and so profitable to use it productively, as to lead him to choose production rather than predation. Thus all power will be turned to productive work. This looks like a better program of reform than merely to destroy the power of the individual lest he should, perchance, use it destructively.

PRODUCTIVITY OF CAPITAL

The evidence is so overwhelming as to amount to a demonstration that capital, when used to equip a productive industry, is productive in the sense that it aids in production, or increases production. If that be true, then the one who causes capital to come into existence and to find its way into that industry has done a useful thing. It may or may not cost him a sacrifice, but that is immaterial because the modern world does not pay for sacrifice but for usefulness. The one who causes that capital to come into existence is the one who decides to buy producers' goods rather than consumers' goods with his surplus income. The one who causes that capital to find its way into that productive industry is the

one who decided to invest it in that industry, that is, to buy whatever equipment was needed by that particular industry. The more people there are making choices of this kind the more equipment our industries will have, the larger the product per man, the higher the wages which our industries can pay.

Because he started wrong, and because

he proceeded inexorably from this wrong start, Marx went wrong on every one of his predictions. If he had started with the right conception of capital and its functions, and if he had proceeded as inexorably from this right start as he did from his wrong start, he would have written a very different book and reached very different conclusions.

II—The Value and Defects of the Marxist Philosophy

By HAROLD J. LASKI

IT has been more usual either to praise or to blame Marx than to understand him.

For a philosophy which, like his, seeks to alter the foundations of social life is bound, in the nature of things, to appeal to the deepest passions of men. And it has been an inevitable corollary of this attitude that attention has been concentrated less upon what is true and vital in his theories than upon minor issues which do not alter the ultimate bearing of his message. Men discuss, for example, the adequacy or inadequacy of his theory of surplus value; they debate passionately whether the arrival of the proletarian revolution in Russia is, or is not, a fulfillment of his prophecies; they dispute over the relation of his views upon the concentration of wealth to the distribution of ownership (especially in America) at the present time. Yet, important as these questions are, in the general significance of Marxism they are of scholastic interest rather than of practical bearing. The essence of Marxism, from the angle of our generation, must be sought in other directions.

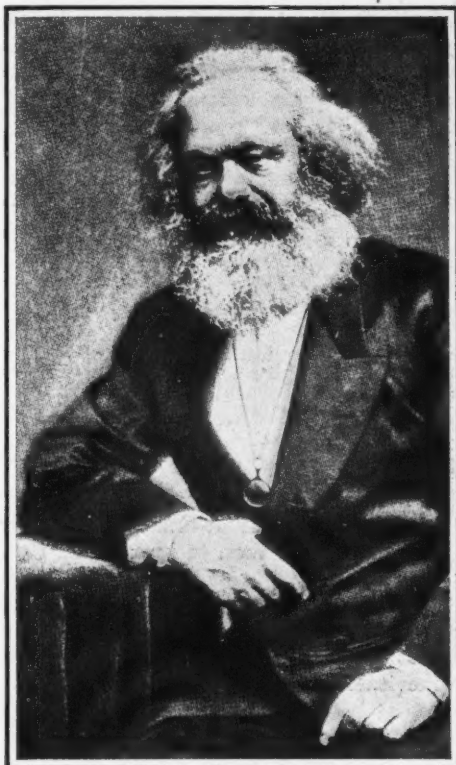
It is, above all, a philosophy of history, and as a corollary thereto, a prophecy of the lines of social development. And, in the second place, it is a social tactic intended to give substance in the event to the prophecy Marx made. These are the vital aspects of his work for the simple reason that they contain the dogmas which have exercised the profoundest influence upon his followers. It is these, for example, which,

transmuted in detail by the most urgent experience since the French Revolution, have formed the basis of Lenin's doctrines. It is these also which, even when their tactical consequences are neglected, form the real line of cleavage between parties of the Left in the modern State.

The Marxian philosophy of history is, as a doctrine, at once simple and true. It is the argument that at any given time the primary mechanism of change in a society is the system of production which obtains. To its requirements all other forms of social effort necessarily adapt themselves. Law, religion, politics, philosophy—all these bear upon their face, whether in attraction or repulsion, the marks of the way in which men wrest from a niggardly nature the means of life. It follows, therefore, on the Marxian view, that those who control the system of production have in society a position of special authority. They are, in sober fact, its effective government; and what we call the State is the weapon they possess for securing the service of their interest. The analysis of any society, says Marx, will reveal it as broadly divided into the two classes of men who own the instruments of production and men who can gain a livelihood only by selling their labor (having nothing else to sell) to those owners. And since it is to the interest of the masters to purchase their labor as cheaply as they can, while it is to the interest of the workers to sell it at the highest possible price, the antagonism between the two

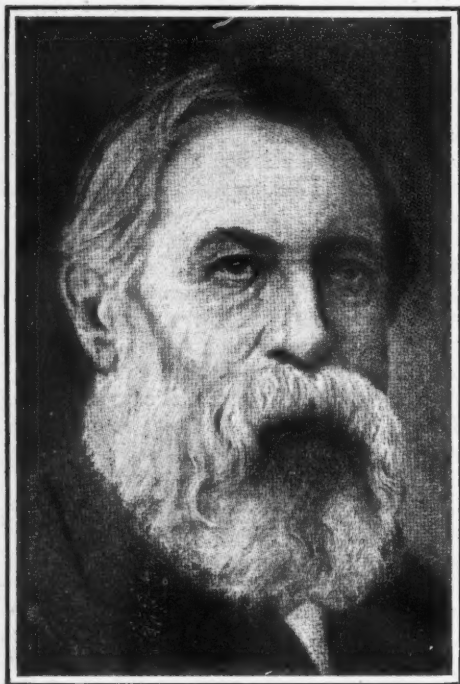
classes is fundamental and irreconcilable. It is only by the abolition of the master-class, by, that is, the socialization of the means of production, that the conflict can be resolved. Society, in other words, can never secure its interest as an organic whole so long as this cleavage persists.

It is in the background of this general philosophy that Marx developed the strategy of Communism. The Industrial Revolution brought with it the massing of the workers in the factories; trade unions developed in consequence to protect the interests of the workers. As these come to realize that their divorce from the means of production keeps them in subjection to the capitalist régime, they become increasingly hostile to it. They develop accordingly a growing class-consciousness. Their solidarity finds expression in a revolutionary party which becomes dissatisfied with small concessions and insists upon the seizure of the State. There, then, develops the final struggle with the capitalists, who, to retain power, will stop at no means, however



KARL MARX (1818-1883)

Founder of the modern Socialist movement

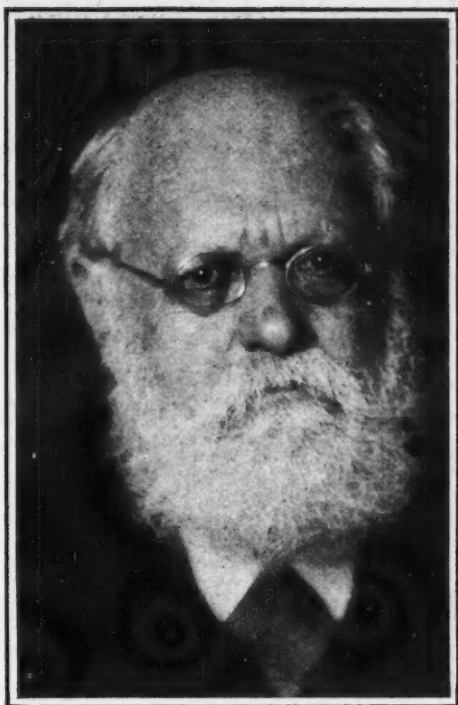


FRIEDRICH ENGELS (1820-1895)

German Socialist, friend and collaborator of Karl Marx

violent or brutal. The workers, accordingly, are driven to retort in kind. They seize, in open warfare, the institutions of the State and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, which, by its iron rigor, controls the transition from a capitalist to a Communist society. The period, admittedly, is one of bloody conflict, since no class—witness the civil wars in England and the French and Russian Revolutions—will peacefully submit to its own suppression. Since, therefore, the master-class cannot be persuaded to surrender by democratic means, the class-conscious workers are the spearhead of the proletariat who drive the latter to victory.

It is necessary to dwell for a moment upon the economic foundation upon which the theory rests. Labor, said Marx, produces more than it receives. Labor is therefore robbed, since, while it receives only the price it can secure in the market, the surplus, however great, is the possession of those who own the instruments of pro-

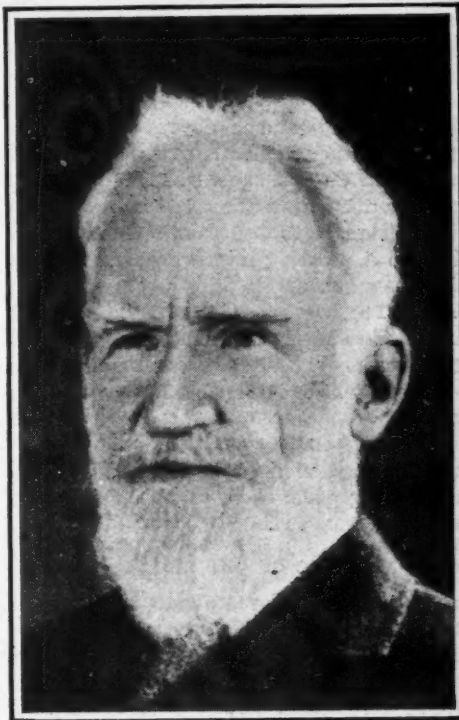


KARL KAUTSKY (1854—)
Austrian Socialist and exponent of the
doctrines of Marx and Engels

duction. It is the purpose of the revolution to reverse this position; and this is made possible by the inherent contradictions of the capitalist régime. For its inevitable results are the growing poverty of the workers, the increasing concentration in a few hands of the control of capital, the depression of the small capitalist into a dependent of the great owner, the development of a world market with competing imperialisms as their consequence, and war as the result of competing imperialisms. This secures the solidarity of labor the world over. Its power becomes incompatible with the maintenance of a capitalist régime. A new mode of production becomes necessary to meet the wants of a class-conscious world proletariat. "The monopoly of capital," wrote Marx, "becomes a fetter on the mode of production. * * * Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor finally reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This

integument is burst asunder * * * the expropriators are expropriated."

It is simple folly to deny the large degree of truth this analysis contains. That political power is the handmaid of economic power has been insisted upon by every thinker who has at all carefully scrutinized the nature of social organization. That a mere ballot-box democracy is, as a consequence, utterly unreal in the presence of large inequalities of property will be evident to any one who considers the history of any modern State like England or France or Germany. That our religions, our literatures, our science, our arts, are profoundly influenced by the economic *milieu* of their time is immediately obvious to any one who examines the history, say, of the Christian epic, or the development, particularly, of the American novel in the last twenty-five years. The student of the decisions of the Supreme Court will find it



Fox Photos

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW
The British Socialist who has declared, "Marx made a man of me," though as one of the chief exponents of Fabianism he disputes several of Marx's theories

impossible to explain them at least in general principle except upon the assumption that they are weighted in the interest of the owners of capital; the history of the Fourteenth Amendment, for example, is a striking instance of this truth. The influence of property upon journalism, upon education, upon the social outlook of the churches is in all large outlines quite final as a determinant.

Nor can it be denied that there is a real division of interest in any community between the owners of the means of production and those who have nothing to sell but their labor. It is difficult, as John Stuart Mill said, to have patience with the people who "think it right to be always repeating that the interest of laborers and employers is one and the same. It is not to be wondered at that this sort of thing should be irritating to those to whom it is intended as a warning. How is it possible that the buyer and seller of a commodity should have exactly the same interest as to its price? It is to the interest of both that there should be commodities to sell, and it is, in a certain general way, the interest both of laborers and employers that business should prosper, and that the returns to Labor and Capital should be large. But to say that they have the same interest as to the division is to say that it is the same thing to a person's interest whether a sum of money belongs to him or to somebody else." The weakness of this view Marx saw with unsurpassed clarity; and he was demonstrably right in his insistence that the present method of distribution tilts the balance of power overwhelmingly in the interest of employers. The conclusions, that is to say, of his theory of surplus value are largely true even though the theory itself be erroneous.

EVILS OF CAPITALISM

We may, therefore, argue that certain broad results of the Marxian doctrine are beyond denial. To separate the masses from the ownership of the instruments of production means, however vast the total aggregate of productivity, poverty for those masses. That poverty is made more bitter by insecurity, on the one hand, and the knowledge, on the other, that there are riches and idleness among those who share



NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

Editor of *Pravda*, the chief organ of the Russian Communist Party, and leading Russian exponent of Marxism today

in the ownership of capital. And, viewed from the angle of the wage-earner, dependence upon the sale of his labor-power is bound to appear a special form of slavery. He cannot forget that he and his children have inadequate access to knowledge, to the resources of law and to political power. His intellectual environment is largely dictated to him by men whose wants and interests are alien from his own. It seems, moreover, to be true that capitalism cannot maintain its early successes. It results in combinations and crises. It damages the instruments of production by a wasteful use of human resources. It is careless of the human beings upon whose labor-power it depends. It adulterates the commodities it produces, so at once cheating the public and lowering the morale of those engaged in their production. The personality of those whom it employs is hurt by the authoritarian control it exercises over them; it is thus, as a system of government, at

complete odds with the purpose of democratic principles. As a consequence, it provokes to revolt those over whose destiny it presides; the law of its being is conflict, and this, in the end, is fatal to prosperity. It leads, further, to war by its need to dominate foreign markets, its search to control raw materials, and its need to defend its position at home by protective tariffs. Capitalism and peace, in a word, are mutually exclusive.

To have set out these things with a mass of supporting facts and a remorseless eloquence is an achievement as great as any in the record of modern sociology. But there are also weaknesses in the Marxian philosophy upon which it is imperative to dwell. His interpretation of history, in the first place, gives too little room to the significance of non-economic factors. Religion, race, nationality, these have their ideologies which shape, even as they are shaped by, the economic environment. The English working man ought to feel, on the Marxian hypothesis, that he has more in common with the American working man than with the English capitalist; yet the fact remains that, broadly speaking, he shows no sign of any such feeling. While, therefore, our interpretation of history must have its main outline set by the economic factor, it is clear that the event is misread if it is seen entirely in those terms.

Every stage, moreover, of the tactic of revolution as Marxism conceives it, is dubious in the modern time. Revolution, if it is to succeed, is dependent upon three conditions. There must, first of all, be a revolutionary class-consciousness; there must, in the second place, be a strong Communist Party to take advantage of the situation; and it must, thirdly, be directed by leaders with the courage to will, the eye to see and the resource to manoeuvre. Revolution, in other words, will only be successful in some such situation as that of Russia in 1917. There must be the burden of widespread and intolerable wrong; the machinery of government must have broken down; and the army must have abandoned the side of the capitalist. Such a situation is only likely to be the aftermath of unsuccessful war. And even if, in such circumstances, the revolutionary party seizes power, there are no guarantees either that

it will maintain its hold, or that it will secure the end that Marx predicted. It could not do so in England unless—a very dubious thing—it was able to maintain the food supply. It could not do so in America unless it was able to control communications which stretch over 5,000 miles of difficult territory. And those who thus seize power may well, like other revolutionaries in history, devote its use to other ends than the original end. A dictatorship may begin by aiming at the interest of the proletariat and end by aiming at the interest of the dictators. That has been seen before in history.

UNWISDOM OF VIOLENCE

We have also to remember a thing of which neither Marx nor Lenin took adequate account. The weapons now at the disposal of violence are more catastrophic in their nature than at any previous time. Applied intensively, or over a long period, they may destroy exactly the machinery upon which the successful consummation of the revolution depends; they may even make impossible the maintenance of civilization. We have also to bear in mind the qualities produced, both in governors and governed, by a long habituation to methods of violence. It is difficult to see that a régime which, like that of a proletarian dictatorship, is avowedly built on the use of hatred and fear and calculated relentlessness can give birth to a society distinguished by fraternity; and that for exactly the same reasons as lead the Marxian to deny that a common interest can be born of the present society. The cost, in a word, of applying the Marxian formulae of conflict may well be the impossibility of attaining the ends that Marx himself had in view.

Another aspect of this problem must be emphasized. For Marx, the inevitability of violent conflict is simply the logic of history. It is the business, in his view, of ideal right to show by its might that it is right indeed. But an argument of this kind will justify a Fascist revolution no less than a Communist one. It will validate the effort of any body of men to whom the means, whatever they be, justify the end in seeking to realize their purpose. Marx's answer to this view is convincing to Marxians; but it would not be convincing to Mussolini.

And to the student of history who remembers the narrow margin by which the victories, still small, of toleration and reason have been won, a frank surrender to a deliberate philosophy of violence in which the battle is to be to the stronger without regard to the end they seek to serve, must, inevitably, sound like a betrayal of civilization itself.

Nor is it yet fair to predicate that social justice is unattainable peacefully through the normal channels of representative government. Marx himself suggested that a peaceful transition was possible in England, America and Holland. That in Western civilization the standard of the working class has enormously improved in the last hundred years is simply incontrovertible on the facts; that, in Europe at least, working-class parties are in sight of power is equally undeniable. It is, of course, true that the abolition of the class structure of society by such Governments is a long and arduous task which can in any case only be accomplished piecemeal, and may conceivably be resisted by other classes in the State. But to the first point it is a sufficient answer that, even under a proletarian dictatorship the period of transition is, if Russia be any index, a very long one; and, to the second, that if a working-class Government were resisted, it would combat its opponents with all the advantages of the machinery of the State on its side. The effort at constitutional transition, in other words, loses nothing by being attempted; and much may be lost by its willful and deliberate abandonment.

Another point of importance may here be noted. The Marxian philosophy predicates inevitable revolution in the interests of social justice; and the principle by which social justice is distinguished is that each is to give according to his powers and to receive according to his needs. It is worth while insisting that, eloquent as this sounds, it means precisely nothing capable of exact definition. We can say when a man is working well in terms of another's production; we can say when a man has adequacy in terms of some common minimum. But immediately we leave such a realm of broad proportions, the formula is not helpful. The equality, in other words, at which Marx aims is at no point a simple thing as a

process of attainment. It is built, if it is to be successful, in terms, above all, of being rewarded, so that the social function they perform may be adequately fulfilled rather than at the level Marx and, in the early days of the Russian Revolution, Lenin, assumed to be desirable. And immediately we begin to think in these terms it is obvious that social relationships are complex and not simple in character. Marx is as undeniably right in his insistence that only social control of the means of production will produce an adequate society, as he was wrong in his belief that conflict necessarily and automatically gives rise, in the end, to harmonious social control.

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

It is worth while, too, to remember—and the experience of Russia has only reinforced this truth—that a dictatorship, whether or no it be proletarian, is in simple fact the exchange of one tyranny for another. For Marx, of course, the difference was important that the proletarian dictatorship was conceived in the interest of all. But it is at least a sufficient answer that no dictatorship can ever fully respond to the wants of men except when those wants are freely announced; and it is, after all, the declared purpose of the dictatorship to prevent such announcement by suppressing the views and movements alien from its own conception of what men ought to want. It is not, of course, a new thing in history to force men's minds into a Procrustes' bed of preconceived ideas. Calvin sought that at Geneva, the Jesuits in Paraguay; and however large the new Presbyter may write his old priesthood, he is eventually doomed to the same failure as they. For, over a period at least, no human mind will suffer the tyranny of Procrustes.

Yet, when the last criticism of Marx has been made, no society can afford to neglect the seminal truths contained in his philosophy. No State can survive without conflict where there are vast disparities of wealth the distribution of which cannot, as in our own, be referred to reasoned principle. No State, either, can rightly order its life so long as the fundamental instruments of production are the plaything of private gain. There is not, either, any likelihood of effective social and political liberty in a

State save in so far as there is effective social and political equality; and these, in their turn, are a function of economic equality. The future of our society depends very largely upon the willingness of those who now control the instruments of production to make large concessions to the proletariat. We have among us, not less truly than in Disraeli's day, the two nations of rich and poor; and it is the elementary lesson of all history that a house so divided against itself cannot stand.

Nor must we blind ourselves to the fact that, building upon these truths, Marx was right also when he argued that no class, at least so far in the historic record, has been willing peacefully to abdicate from its power. The famous warning of Matthew Arnold, "choose equality and flee greed," has a lesson for ourselves even more urgent than when he made it. For the power of the Marxian philosophy comes, above all, from the appeal it makes to those who see the strength of its affirmations. It is the inevitable creed of men who suffer from economic oppression. It draws its nourishment from every refusal to act with justice and generosity. It is fed by the conflicts which, at every margin of civilization, haunt our lives with the instinct of coming disaster. National hatred, economic war, racial antagonism, religious conflict, to all who suffer the results of these, the message of Communism is real and it is telling.

Nor are the simple formulae of repression adequate to meet it. The Marxian faith is held by its adherents with an in-

tensity as passionate as ever moved the protagonists of a religious creed. They have the spirit of the early Jesuits, the temper of Cromwell's Ironsides. The answer to them lies in the proof, not merely that social reform is practicable but that its results can be as profound as the promise of those who belittle its prospects. Change, in any event, is inevitable; for, at least in matters of social constitution, we confront no eternal Absolute that is beyond the power of Time. We confront, above all in Europe, demands for social justice which are not likely to decrease in volume or intensity; and every arrest of their satisfaction merely strengthens the forces of disruption. Marxism, with all its errors, both of interpretation and prediction, responds to something fundamental in the heart of the ordinary man. It postulates the coming of a State which, as it prophesies, will lie ready to his service. It explains for him the failure of his own life to be rich and harmonious and full. He has not the time nor the energy to test the consequence of applying the formulae of conflict to a world which has need of the formulae of cooperation. He sees only the obvious disparities in our way of life which the Marxian philosophy emphasizes; and when the Communist draws Utopia upon his map he is human enough to have faith in his direction. We shall not answer Marx by telling him that it is intellectual error to pursue that road. Our task is rather the proof that the hill can be breasted by a different and easier path.

III—Marxism Essentially Evolutionary

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE philosophy of Karl Marx furnishes the theoretical basis of most of the modern Socialist movement and has powerfully influenced its course of development. Yet Socialism is not synonymous with Marxism.

Marx did not originate the Socialist philosophy nor did he create the Socialist movement. The idea of political and economic equality is as old as human thought. It

runs through philosophic concepts beginning with Plato and through religious teachings since Christ.

The organized Socialist movements of the French schools, from Babeuf to Fourier, the English Owenites and the German followers of Wilhelm Weitling antedate the first organization of Marxian Socialists, the Communist League.

But Karl Marx was the first to remove

Socialism from the sphere of mere philosophic speculation, religious vision or ethical concept and to plant it on the solid ground of practical politics.

The fundamental difference between Marxism and the earlier Socialist schools is that, while the latter view Socialism as an ideal equally valid in all times and places, Marx conceives of it a distinct phase of modern civilization.

The Socialist program contemplates the socialization of the basic industries, and it is one of the cardinal tenets of the Marxian philosophy that the material conditions for the realization of that program did not exist before the modern or capitalist era ushered in by the Industrial Revolution.

In this view the individualistic and competitive system of wealth production paves the way for a Socialist system of collective ownership and operation of the industrial processes and instrumentalities. No Socialist State is possible without a full antecedent capitalist development, and conversely, when a country has reached a state of capitalist maturity Socialist transformation becomes possible and in the long run inevitable.

The Marxian philosophy is by no means rigid and doctrinaire. It has been subject to constant evolution and modification.

The Marxism of 1928 is not the Marxism of 1848. During the eighty years that have elapsed since the first formulation of the theory in the famous *Communist Manifesto* some of its tenets and postulates have been limited, developed and changed by Karl Marx himself, by his faithful collaborator, Frederick Engels, and by a host of interpreters and disciples, or corrected by the industrial and political developments of the times.

The guiding thoughts of the *Communist Manifesto* may be summed up as follows:

The ever changing forms of social organization in human society are not fashioned by arbitrary design, but are determined by the changing mode of wealth production. The modern system of production is the system of capitalism, which is characterized by mass production, the factory system and by the separation of the worker from his tool. Under this system industrial society tends to a division into two main interest groups or classes: the capitalists or "bour-



MORRIS HILLQUIT

geois," who own the sources and instruments of wealth production and appropriate the profits of the industrial process, and the modern workers, "proletarians," without property or tools, who are compelled to work for wages, to "sell themselves piecemeal" to the capitalists as a commodity.

Between the two classes there is not a mere lack of mutual understanding and fair dealing, but an inherent and irrepressible conflict of interest, which results in an uninterrupted struggle, open or hidden.

The history of our time is shaped by the struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as all recorded history in the past has been one of class struggles.

WORKING-CLASS ORGANIZATION

In this struggle the workers have the advantage of steadily increasing numbers. Their ranks are reinforced, not only by migration from the village to the city, from the field to the factory, but also by the progressive displacement of small independent producers and traders, who are compelled to seek employment in the ser-

vice of large capitalist concerns. These growing masses of industrial workers are, moreover, being organized almost automatically by the very processes of capitalist production. Unlike any dependent class of the past, they are brought together in large numbers for common work in the factories, mills and mines, and thrown into close association and contact by the uniformity of their daily lives and interests. The possibility of an organized struggle of the working class against the employing class is thus developed; the basis of a political Socialist movement is thus created.

But while the victory of every new class in the past has entailed the subjugation of another class, the victory of the industrial working class must inevitably result in the freedom of human society as a whole. Dependence in modern society is primarily economic. The working class can free itself from such economic dependence only by abolishing the private ownership in the means of wealth production and making them the common property of society as a whole, thus abolishing all classes and removing all causes for class struggles. The struggle of the modern workers is therefore a struggle for the emancipation of the whole human race.

When the *Communist Manifesto* was written the modern régime was in its infancy. Universal suffrage and social legislation were things practically unknown and parliamentary government hardly existed outside England. From the Socialist point of view there was little worth preserving in the prevailing social order and there was practically no method for the accomplishment of radical political and economic changes except violent revolution. The belief in the ultimate necessity of a violent overthrow of the existing social order was therefore an accepted tenet of the early Marxian creed.

But the Marxian belief in violence as a method for the accomplishment of the social revolution did not spring from a predilection for violence as such. Marx never had any faith in the efficacy of violence to create new social or economic conditions. In sharp contrast to the anarchist views, he held that no system can be forcibly abolished so long as it retains economic vitality and before it has exhausted all its possibil-

ities of growth and expansion. As far back as 1859 he wrote: "No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society." (Introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.)

The Marxian philosophy is essentially evolutionary and the Marxian program predicates a victory of the Socialist movement on its support by a majority of the people. In fact, the role which Marx attributed to violence as "the midwife of every old society when it is pregnant with a new one" was nothing more than the expression of a somewhat fatalistic conviction that the ruling classes would in no circumstances peacefully surrender their privileges and that they would offer violent resistance to any working-class régime, even if supported by a popular majority.

With the rapid extension of popular government during the last fifty or sixty years this assumption gradually lost ground. Marx was the first among the Marxians to admit the possibility of a peaceful transition in countries of political democracy.

The belief in the inevitability of violent revolution was particularly shaken by the events of the last ten years. The Bolshevik revolutions in Russia and Hungary were accomplished without bloodshed. The political revolutions which transformed the monarchies of Germany and Austria-Hungary into republics governed by Socialists were likewise entirely peaceful. In Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland, Socialist parties were at different times permitted to assume the Governments of their countries without capitalist opposition, violent or otherwise, even before they mustered a majority of the popular suffrage or in Parliament.

CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS

The modern Socialist movement refuses to speculate upon the probable attitude of the ruling classes in the hour of the final political victory of Socialism. It carries on its activities along constitutional lines on the tacit assumption that it will be accorded

the full rights to which its political strength will entitle it and with the determination to defend these rights against any possible attempts of the ruling classes to override the popular mandate at any public election.

Another essential point of the Marxian philosophy which has been subjected to a radical revision deals with the character and composition of the Socialist movement. The Marxian school originally envisaged the movement as one based entirely on the modern industrial workers, in the belief that their numbers were growing so fast that they were destined within a short time to make up the majority of the whole population in every advanced country.

The course of the development has not fully justified this forecast. While the number of industrial workers has increased enormously since the date of the *Communist Manifesto*, absolutely and relatively, it has not grown to the extent anticipated by the followers of Karl Marx. The influx from the village to the city did not proceed at the estimated rate and the advent of large-scale industry and commerce did not throw the majority of small producers and traders into the ranks of the proletariat. It created a new "middle class" composed of corporate officials and employees, which has absorbed a large part of the middle classes of the old type.

There are few countries, if any, in which the industrial workers constitute a clear and determining majority of the population and there is none in which all workers follow the Socialist flag. In the most advanced countries of Europe the political strength of the working-class parties as measured by their votes in general elections oscillates between about 30 per cent. and 42 per cent. of the total.

This condition has impelled the Socialist movement, wherever it has reached a state of political maturity, to seek support in non-proletarian ranks, among the middle classes and principally in the agricultural population. The pursuit of this necessary political support has in its turn led to a substantial broadening of the Socialist program.

But, while the Socialist movement has ceased to be an exclusively proletarian movement in the primitive Marxian conception, the industrial working-class remains

its main backbone, because of its direct economic motive in overthrowing the capitalist system, its preponderating numbers and political training and organization.

This essential working-class character of the Socialist movement, expressed in its composition, methods of political struggle and ultimate aim, constitutes the distinguishing feature of modern Marxism in the field of practical activity.

In the sphere of Socialist theory the Marxian philosophy is still generally accepted in its cardinal thoughts, but like all social and philosophic systems it is subject to varying and conflicting interpretations and applications in accordance with the special circumstances of time and place, and the individual temper of the interpreter.

The discussion was renewed in a particularly violent tone and heated manner with the advent of the Bolshevik revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Government in Russia.

The Russian Bolsheviks, formerly a part of the international Social Democratic movement, now claim to be the only true exponents and followers of the pure doctrine of Karl Marx and reject the West-European interpretation of the Marxian creed as a species of apostasy.

SOVIET NOT SOCIALIST STATE

The relation of the Bolsheviks to the Marxian philosophy is somewhat analogous to that of the Russian "Old Believers" to the Greek Orthodox Church. They revert back to the first and rather crude formulation of the Marxian philosophy, which is not unnatural in view of the fact that the industrial development of Russia in 1917 had hardly reached that of Western Europe in 1848.

But Western Social Democracy refuses to accept the Bolshevik revolution as a working-class revolution and the Soviet Government as a Socialist Government in the Marxian sense of the terms.

The indispensable conditions of a Socialist revolution as understood by the modern Marxian school are:

A capitalist system of wealth production in a high state of development and organization;

A powerful capitalist class dominating the economic life of the country;

A large industrial working class skilled and trained in the industrial processes and capable of assuming its management, well organized economically and well educated politically;

An active and conscious class struggle between the ruling class and the working class.

None of these conditions existed in Russia in 1917.

The country was predominantly agricultural, with an overwhelming peasant population.

The modern capitalist or factory system was in an incipient stage and confined to isolated spots.

The capitalists or bourgeois were weak economically and without influence or power politically.

The industrial workers constituted less than one-tenth of the population. The majority of them were unorganized, uneducated and entirely devoid of political training.

The struggles between the employing classes and workers had been sporadic and comparatively insignificant.

The Bolshevik revolution was in the nature of a historical accident caused by the disastrous effects of the war on certain specific Russian conditions—the collapse of the whole economic organization of the country; the utter demoralization of the Government and bureaucracy; an overwhelmingly large and land-hungry peasantry; millions of demobilized and displaced young workers and soldiers; an impoverished, war-weary, rebellious and desperate people.

The only elements of the population that had a political program and a semblance of organization were the Socialists of the different shades, and the Bolsheviks were the most resolute group among them.

The Bolshevik leaders took the Government of Russia into their hands, and, since they were Marxian Socialists of the most doctrinaire observance, they naturally attempted to bring their revolution and their régime within the Marxian formula. It was this impossible task which resulted in the peculiar institution and theoretical foundations of Soviet Russia.

A Socialist régime in a peasant country is unthinkable. A Russian Government

without peasant support was impossible. To preserve the Government it became necessary to establish a nominal political partnership between the workers and the peasants; to maintain the Bolshevik domination it was necessary to devise a form of indirect elections which would successively eliminate non-Bolshevik peasant representation in the governing councils. Hence the complicated constitution of the Soviet Government.

To give a Marxian sanction to their hybrid Government the Bolshevik leaders revived an old rhetorical Marxian phrase—"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"—and stretched and twisted it to cover the autocratic rule of their own political party. To justify the political repression which is indispensable to uphold the rule of a minority Government, they had recourse to the fiction of a "transitional State" in perpetuity.

RUSSIA NO CRITERION

The economic régime of Soviet Russia is, if possible, even less Socialistic than its political structure. The vast majority of its population, variously estimated between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent., consists of private land owners of varying degree of affluence or poverty; the early theory of Government ownership of all land has become a dead letter. In industry and commerce the field is divided between private competitive enterprises, foreign concessionaires and a form of Government operation which may be characterized as State Socialism or State Capitalism. The early revolutionary institution of "Workers' Control" in industry has been abandoned and the much-heralded New Economic Policy (N. E. P.) was nothing but a surrender to the system of private capitalism.

The Russian experiment is a complete vindication of the Marxian philosophy, negatively rather than positively. It has furnished concrete and conclusive proof that a Socialist order cannot be established in a country of backward industrial development. The most earnest efforts to create a Socialist State are doomed to failure in the absence of suitable economic conditions; the seed of Socialism cannot grow to fruition on sterile soil.

The converse of this concept, i. e., that

favorable economic conditions will not automatically produce a Socialist movement without active and intelligent effort of the working masses, has been proved with similar conclusiveness by conditions in the United States.

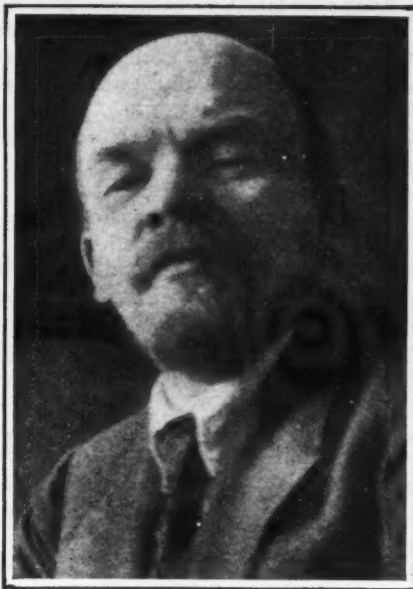
MARX'S VIEW OF CENTRALIZED CAPITAL

Analyzing the course of modern or capitalist economic development, Karl Marx more than sixty years ago described the process of centralization of capital in these prophetic words: "One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by the few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the cooperative form of the labor process, the conscious application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil and transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments usable only in common, the economizing of all means of production of combined socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and, with this, the international character of the capitalist régime."

When these lines were written the United States was an overwhelmingly agricultural country. Industry and commerce, such as they were, were conducted by individual small producers and traders on the basis of free competition. The unit of production was the modest workshop and the instrument of labor the simple tool, manipulated by the individual mechanic. It was a country of slow industrial development, largely confined to domestic trade.

Since then the United States has embarked on a course of rapid industrial growth as if deliberately bent on demonstrating the correctness of the Marxian prognosis.

Industrial concentration has reached heights undreamed of a generation ago. Large corporate ownership has "killed" a vast army of independent individual proprietors or capitalists. Gigantic mills and factories have supplanted the old-time workshop. Powerful labor-saving machines have displaced the individual tool. Cooperative work based on a minute division of labor has taken the place of individual production. Modern science has been placed in the service of industry and agriculture.



NIKOLAI LENIN

The leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and chief exponent in recent times of Marxism as a doctrine of the violent overthrow of the existing order.

The process of wealth production has been consciously and rationally organized on national lines. It has become essentially social in character. The industrial life of the country is closely "entangled in the net of the world market." The United States has become the most industrial and capitalistic country of the world.

The development just sketched has produced a permanent class of industrial workers larger in numbers than any other single interest group in the United States. The conflict of interest between that class and the employing or capitalist class has led to many open, often violent, clashes in the form of strikes, boycotts and lockouts.

SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

On the economic field the "class struggle" is as rampant here as in the advanced countries of Europe. Yet the Socialist movement in the United States is incomparably weaker than in many countries of inferior industrial development. The large body of American workers have as yet not seen fit to extend their class struggles to

the domain of politics and have given scant support to the Socialist movement.

The retardation of the Socialist movement in the United States may be accounted for by many factors, economic, social and historical. The country is young and has not nearly exhausted its opportunities for industrial expansion and individual advancement to the same extent as the old countries of Europe. The standard of life of the American worker is considerably higher than that of his fellow-worker on the other side of the Atlantic and his economic condition has been particularly favorable in the period of exceptional prosperity during and after the war. The very swiftness of industrial development has checked the definite crystallization of classes and the development of the feeling of class-consciousness and the diversity of racial stocks, languages and national habits of the American workers have heretofore been serious obstacles in the way of their organization.

On the whole the Socialist and Labor movements of the United States are in approximately the same position as they were in Great Britain about thirty years ago, before the formation of the Labor Party.

From the Marxian point of view the

obstacles to the Socialist growth in the United States are no more permanent than those which hamper the establishment of a Socialist State in Russia. Both are bound to be removed by the inexorable leveling process of industrial, political and cultural development which tends to fashion all modern civilization after one pattern. The Socialist movement will develop in the United States when its workers reach the necessary degree of political education and experience. A Socialist State will become feasible in Russia when her industries have grown to the point of national organization and possible socialization and produce an industrial working class numerous enough to take the political lead.

These developments may be largely speeded by conscious and rational effort, but they cannot be forced. Marxian Socialists in both countries find hope and faith in the example of the Western European countries in which the political strength of the workers keeps almost exact pace with the industrial development of the countries. With the founder of the school, they believe that the more advanced countries hold out the mirror of the future development of the less advanced countries and that this rule holds equally good for their economic and political development.



Robert E. Lee: Is His Military Genius Fact or Fiction?

I—The Confederate Leader's Failure Due to Weakness of Character

By ELBRIDGE COLBY

CAPTAIN, UNITED STATES ARMY; AUTHOR OF *The Profession of Arms*

SOBER-MINDED historians are reaching the conclusion that lack of exact knowledge of events which transpired many decades ago has resulted in the creation of a Lee legend. People whose historical information comes from the most superficial historical essays, and writers whose sources have been partisan opinions and vague traditions rather than contemporaneous evidence, have created an almost mythological figure of Robert E. Lee as a great general, worthy of standing forever beside the great commanders of all time. Says Mr. Isaac R. Pennypacker, historical writer in Pennsylvania:

The recent publication in America and England of numerous books on the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865, and of magazine articles in both countries on the same subject, has shown in most of these writings a marked drifting away from the evidence and toward a sentimental acceptance of the claims of the South on behalf of its cause and its leaders, civic and military. If the late Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts did not initiate this drift in the North, he at least was a prominent participant in it. Its extreme has lately been attained by two volumes on General Lee by a British officer, General F. D. Maurice. General Maurice ranked Lee above Wellington and placed him on a plane with Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar and Frederick the Great.

It is only natural, of course, that a leader of a lost cause should attract sentimental attention; but this should not result in palpable exaggeration and flagrant error. While really powerful men of the past are gradually being forgotten, we should not be fed on extravagant fiction based upon partisan sources, and led to emulate pleasant but un-useful traits. The same critic says further:

In part, this condition in America has been brought about by the combination of

Southern and British writers, reluctant to attribute Lee's defeat at Gettysburg to its actual causes, and of the eulogists of certain Northern generals, and some of these generals themselves, who have been almost equally reluctant to give in full measure the credit of the Union victory at Gettysburg where it is chiefly due * * * to the swift marches of Meade to Gettysburg and his superior technical skill in that battle.

To read many of the passionate passages appearing these late years depicting Robert E. Lee for popular admiration is to receive fantastic fancy as actual fact. The halo of frustrated genius settles about the gray head of the able but too amiable Virginian. We are almost led to believe that Lee was a tremendous epitome of his people, like those outstanding strong men whose dominating personalities are sculptured as enduring models in Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*. One is finally reminded of the remark John Bassett Moore once made when confronted with a fallacious historical generalization. That rich and sound mind greeted the generalization with the remark: "If this be true, then the years I have spent in the study of history are utterly wasted."

Of Lee's military skill, as pure skill, it is not my intention to be disparaging. Let it be granted that this officer had ample mental capacity, that he thought soundly and clearly. But this alone does not make a great commander. It might make a good division chief of staff. It makes a fine thinker. Yet it never brings Lee any nearer to the company of Napoleon and Wellington. Those generals who are properly rated the great captains of history stand forth as men of power. They were men of granite. They dominated their commands. War is cruel and hard, and they must be hard. Let us cease speaking of great military

minds, and speak instead of great commanders. In war, Napoleon has told us, it is the *man* who counts. The man must have a vigorous personality. He may have all the skill and valor in the world, but unless he imposes his own hard will upon his own forces and through them upon the enemy, he is not a superlative commander.

"Subordinates," declares General Colin R. Ballard, "are what their chiefs make them." Let us look for a moment at a few other generals. Without implying in each case that each is the superior of Lee in all respects, we can at least indicate how this dominant trait, this rigid sense of discipline, stands out in capable chieftains.

GREAT COMMANDERS OF HISTORY

There was "Stonewall" Jackson on the road to Romney, that great Virginia commander, asking why his own former unit, the famous First Brigade, had halted instead of pushing on, as the situation demanded, and receiving the reply:

"I have halted to let the men cook their rations."

"There is no time for that," said Jackson. "But it is impossible for men to march further without them."

"I never found anything impossible with this brigade."

There was "Stonewall" Jackson again, giving an order and momentarily being questioned as to its feasibility:

"Did you order me to advance over that field, sir?"

"Yes," said Jackson.

"Impossible, sir! My men would be annihilated! Nothing can live there! They would be annihilated!"

"General," said Jackson, "I always endeavor to take care of my wounded and to bury my dead. You have heard my order—obey it!"

This was in the Confederate Army, hastily raised and not thoroughly disciplined though it was, where Generals constantly quarreled, where Stuart said of some of his subordinates: "They are pretty good officers now, and after a while they will make excellent soldiers, too. They only need reducing to the ranks." In such an army stood Jackson "duty personified," as Henderson says, a fine military mind actuated by a powerful military character. At one time this great Virginian from the Shenandoah had all five of his regimental commanders in arrest at once. He kept his

subordinates strictly in their places, exacting from his Generals the same implicit obedience he exacted from his corporals. As a consequence of his strength and power of command, his was the ideal military force, wielded by one capable hand and directed by one calm, clear intelligence. He was strict and hard. And the consequence was that his troops stood out for brilliant and famous accomplishments. From that day when he rested solidly on Henry Hill, and they said "There stands Jackson like a stone wall," until he fell at Chancellorsville after his personal driving power had accomplished an extraordinary and successful manoeuvre, throughout his career Jackson exhibited the positiveness of a powerful chieftain.

There was Wellington on the Peninsula, establishing the first military police in history, enforcing discipline with an iron hand. Never familiar with any of his Generals, restrained but positive, possessed of an impenetrable will, purging himself of incompetents and free to express disapproval, Wellington was of the strong character of which great captains are formed. Dominating perhaps, possibly at times ghastly in his snobbishness, he was at any rate undoubtedly forceful and unquestionably positive. No one under Wellington hesitated; and no one doubted the force and power of the leader.

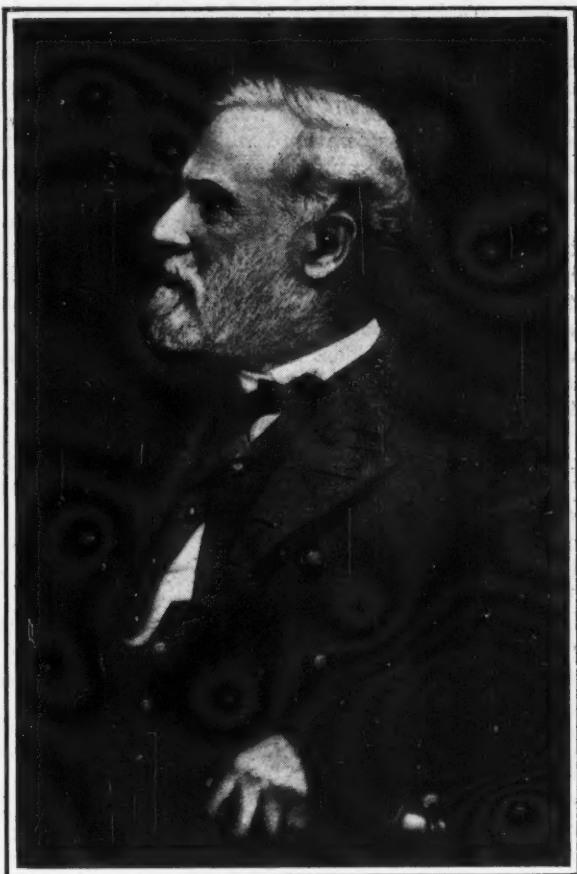
There was Pershing in France, making all his officers feel, as Lieutenant General Dickman has testified, that at the first sign of weakness they would be removed from their posts, exacting strict obedience from the whole American expeditionary force. In France with a fixed policy for a distinctive American army, he "could not be driven from his position" by foreign General or persuasive diplomat. A man of character, the character of which great commanders are made, he was also an exacting man. On the Rhine, told that there was only one case of preventable disease in a particular battalion, he curtly answered "One too many!" It concerns us little here whether or not he had the length and breadth of experience in handling large forces to deserve rank as a truly great captain. George Patullo and Liddell Hart may argue that point if they please. What does concern us is that he certainly had

that power of personal will which is one essential trait in such great men.

Discipline, say the military manuals, is that condition of the personnel which enables the commander to obtain orderly and efficient results. There must be implicit obedience in rank and file—and dominance from above. Orders must be obeyed, and there must be insistence upon obedience. There must be that quality which they found in Napoleon in Italy—"a force of will before which all must bend." In moments of irritation they might call Wellington "that inflated God Almighty," but they obeyed him none the less, and the army was his army.

The true commander is absolutely impersonal. He does not thirst for blood, or glory in horror; he merely knows they must be met with before the task can be accomplished. It makes no difference to him, as a commander, whether the men brought down by cannon shot are merely "a level line of red clay," or whether from each one of those bodies there arises "some frightened condition of soul unwillingly released." He cannot stop to consider such matters. A General reported to Pershing one morning in France with a sheaf of papers to be handled, and prefaced the conference with the news that an old comrade had just been killed in action. "Yes," said Pershing. He paused a moment and then, refusing to let inner emotions master his duty, said: "And what have you there to be done?"

Fine thinking may figure out a brilliant manoeuvre. The military character is necessary to accomplish it. It takes hard discipline and strong character to drive troops long distances to effect surprises and hit decisively. It takes decisive will power to impress the wish of the commander upon rank and file. Such a character Lee did not have. "Stonewall" Jackson had it, as other great commanders had it. But not Lee. Merely to recite these qualities and



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

to show instances of their effectiveness when possessed by other men whose names are already imperishably enrolled on the roster of Great Captains is almost sufficient. It is immediately apparent that Lee, keen of mind and of undoubted valor as he was, was not dominant or powerful. Every tradition of the man depicts him with "the largest tenderness" and "sweet dignity" and with "kindness" and tact. Bradford says he was "too considerate of the feelings of his subordinates," and that is exactly what a great commander should never, cannot ever, be.

When at West Point in 1852, he noticed three cadets out of bounds. His official position as superintendent of the military academy and his duty required disciplinary action, but he said to his son, who was with

him: "Did you know those young men? But, no, if you did, don't say so. I wish boys would do what is right; it would be so much easier for all parties." Is it any wonder that eleven years later, in March, 1863, he said: "The greatest difficulty I find is in causing orders and regulations to be obeyed." In the last months of the war he said: "Many opportunities have been lost and hundreds of lives uselessly sacrificed for want of a strict observance of discipline."

The object of discipline is efficiency. It is a military requisite. If discipline is a condition or a state of mind, it is constant watchfulness and pressure on the part of the commander which keeps it up to level. Asked to inspect a regimental area, General Lee once replied: "Colonel, a dirty camp gives me nausea. If you say your camps are clean, I will go." A true commander would have taken a stand directly opposite. If a colonel stated the camps to be clean, the general might have saved his time. If the general knew or suspected filth, he should have gone in person and seen how bad things were, and have applied immediate corrective measures. A true commander would never have met a complaint on the quality and quantity of rations by "explaining" the situation in a general order to his troops. A true commander would not have tried to get rid of gambling in the ranks by speaking of the "highest virtue" and the "purest morality." Such a commander would never have said: "While I have no authority in the case, my desire is . . ." A great captain with the true trait for command would not have declined responsibility as an independent commander-in-chief and, after accepting the appointment, have turned around and asked for "instructions." He would not have shown diffidence and lack of self-confidence, nor spoken of his own "inabilities" for the duties. Such things Lee did.

EXTREME DEFERENCE TO SUPERIORS

What statesmen want of soldiers in emergencies is character, confidence and a willingness to accept responsibility. They want straight thinking, unruffled determination and decisive action. Imagine, if you

can, any really great commander writing to his political superior such phrases of extreme deference as Lee wrote to Jefferson Davis:

I earnestly commend these considerations to your Excellency and trust you will be at liberty, in your better judgment and with the superior means of information you possess . . . to give effect to them, either in the way I have suggested or in such other manner as may seem to you more judicious.

When Napoleon had absolute power and was not responsible to any higher authority, he would never have written in this fashion. But even the younger Napoleon did not write that way. He sent word home from Italy to his chiefs in France: "I have received your peace treaty with Sardinia. The army has approved of it." Wellington did not write that way. Neither did Grant, nor even McClellan nor old "Ben" Butler. Neither did Pershing. Nor, in antiquity, did Hannibal or Scipio Africanus write so, smooth politicians as they were. It is hard to conceive of a man who can write that way being classed with the strong men of the military past.

Other commanders have had their difficulties with their own and other political chiefs. Pershing was almost tied hand and foot in Mexico. Wellington operated in Portugal and Spain under severe handicaps. Marlborough had troubles with his allies and yet—in spite of the calumny heaped upon him by such merely literary lights as Swift, Thackeray and Macaulay—his personality still stands forth strong and sure. Of Lee they said: "He got a crick in the neck from looking over his shoulder toward Richmond." They never said any such thing of Pershing in Mexico or in France, of Grant manoeuvring doggedly and skillfully to invest Vicksburg or conducting his remarkable campaign of 1864, nor even of Thomas at Nashville or Sherman marching to the sea. These men did not "suggest cautiously" or "insinuate courteously" as did Lee. They were soldiers with the soldier character.

Simply military skill, Lee had. Military character as a great commander, Lee lacked. His "too kindly consideration for incompetent officers" proved his downfall. When a man of this type is placed in the front rank of glory among the great com-

manders of all time, he creates a false impression. Lee accomplished what he did in spite of his faults, yet those faults of graciousness and kindness are the very items so often emphasized in depicting the man. As a man he was admirable. As a model his traits might lead astray those trying to copy the master and mistaking his pleasantness of manner as a vital element in the character of great commanders. He had not that insistence on rigid punctuality, prompt performance, early hours, and hard work which marked "Stonewall" Jackson's relations with his staff. In Jackson's case, as in the case of Pershing and Grant, as well as Wellington, the path of duty was the way to glory, not only for himself but for the others, the subordinates. It is such a view of life and of duty that makes great commanders. It makes for effective control, for dominance. It keeps every man in his place, every unit at its position. It makes the common plan work as it was designed to work. It enables the chief to find his foe, to press him just enough to fix him in position, and then to hit him with a single devastating thunderbolt.

In not a single instance is the lack of this trait in the character of Lee more clearly revealed than in the Gettysburg campaign, which initiated his downfall, and in which the results of his lack of discipline reached fruition. It was just before Gettysburg that he had complained of the difficulty in getting his orders obeyed. It was after Gettysburg that he had confessed lost opportunities for want of discipline.

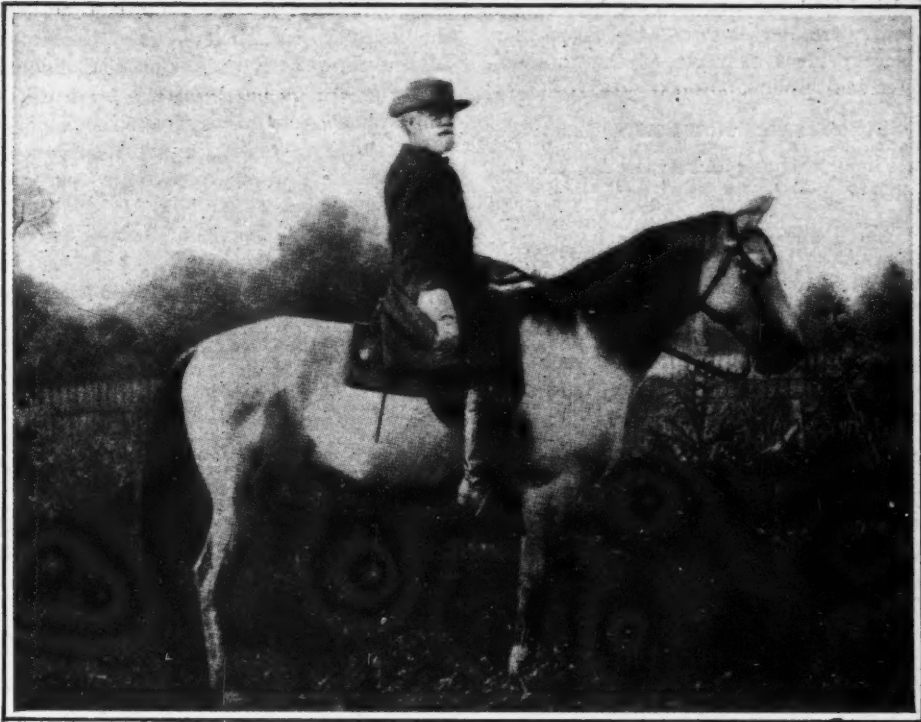
GETTYSBURG RESULT OF INDISCIPLINE

"Stonewall" Jackson was dead, and "Stonewall" Jackson, it will be remembered, had a loyalty to his superior that has probably never been equalled in great generals save in the case of Pershing. In previous engagements, Jackson may have had ideas of his own; yet he always willingly abandoned them and vigorously bent every energy to carry out the decisions of his chief. But Jackson was gone, and Hill, Longstreet and Ewell were Lee's corps commanders. It was through lack of discipline among these that the opportunity at Gettysburg was lost. But Lee had no one to blame but

himself. He had not disciplined his generals.

The story of Gettysburg is a story of lack of cooperation, failure to conform to a common plan. Lee had envisaged an advance into Pennsylvania up the Cumberland Valley. Hooker with the Union army likewise proceeded northward, keeping the blue forces between the Confederates and the cities of Washington and Baltimore. To protect his army and to keep him informed of Hooker's movements, Lee had five brigades of cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart. It is not necessary to go into the old argument as to whether Stuart actually disobeyed by riding around the Union troops to the Susquehanna instead of keeping close to the mountains between Lee and Meade, who had succeeded Hooker *en route*. Mosby has printed documents and evidence which counter the Marshall-Lee reports and alibi testimony. Mr. Penny-packer has reiterated them against the antiquated arguments of General Maurice. The fact is that Lee still had with him two of Stuart's five cavalry brigades. If they and the three brigades off with Stuart gave him no help—as his apostles insist—the fault was Lee's and his alone. The fault was perhaps due to a misunderstanding of orders, perhaps to faulty orders, but certainly to lack of discipline. Lee's cavalry should have known the general plan and should have conformed closely to it. It was Lee's task and Lee's responsibility to see that the cavalry knew and conformed. It was due to Lee's constant failure to enforce discipline upon his subordinate generals that such an imbroglio arose. If, as it is claimed—and also denied—Gettysburg was lost because of the absence of the cavalry, the fault lay with the army commander and cannot be heaped upon the cavalry chief.

Gettysburg became a battlefield through an accident. It was an extremely favorable defensive location for Meade's Union forces. Lee should have acted—and actually wished to act—so he himself could fight on the defensive, as was only proper with 76,000 against Meade's 88,000. But Lee's discipline and character were not strong enough to impress his wish upon his subordinates. A brigade of Hill's corps, attempting to



General Lee and his famous mount, "Traveller"

raid a supply of footgear at Gettysburg, was discovered by reconnoitering Union cavalry. A clash ensued. Hill and Heth's division marched up, without orders, and a battle was joined. Ewell, concentrating toward Cashtown according to previous instructions, came down on the Union flank and the Federals had to withdraw through the city. The bluecoats were now on a splendid defensive line along Cemetery Ridge, Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill. But they were weak. Lee sent word to Ewell—previously instructed not to bring on a general engagement—to take Cemetery Hill "if possible." Ewell did not consider it "possible" to seize such a naturally strong position without vigorous effort and so, in spite of a late sunset and a full moon, he desisted after a slight advance had met slight resistance.

Here was no dominating will. Here was no vigorous determination to seize fleeting and precious advantages. If Lee had previously demonstrated the true character of a strong-willed commander, Ewell would

have considered the seizure possible so long as he still had a soldier not yet a casualty. How different this from the kind of order issued under Pershing in France. A regimental commander was told to take his objective, even at the cost of 66 per cent. casualties. Division commanders were given daily objectives, and they knew—under Pershing—that those lines must be taken or new generals would be in their places the next morning. But Lee was not a strong man like Pershing. He issued an order which ended with a "possible" and his corps commander knew from previous service under him that the "possible" was a discretionary, not an insistent, word. Ewell did not take Cemetery Hill, the key to the whole position. While Union soldiers were holding this vital spot, Meade was rapidly rushing his superior strength to the field. A great opportunity was lost. Lee might have defeated Meade piecemeal. But the first day at Gettysburg ended inconclusively because Lee's chieftains had not previously been inspired and impelled with the vigor

and drive that were needed at that crucial moment. In all history there is perhaps no more perfect example of the fatal effects of indiscipline.

SUBORDINATES NOT CONTROLLED

At Fredericksburg and Antietam, Lee had watched and well directed the whole field. At Gettysburg, his troops were out of control. Marshall, his aide, has plainly said that Lee gave his orders and then sat down to let his separate subordinates carry on. This might have been suitable with well-disciplined subordinates, imbued with the knowledge that it was accomplishment or dismissal. But such a course of action could never do with such subordinates as Lee had made of his generals. And so the second and third days at Gettysburg were as inconclusive as the first, marked by piecemeal attacks, started late and badly co-ordinated, if co-ordinated at all.

There was Longstreet, arguing instead of marching. His orders were clear on both the second and third days of July. The army commander had made and announced his decision. Yet Longstreet was reluctant to order his men in, and hesitated to give the word. This was the same Longstreet who at Bull Run had sat awaiting instructions instead of pushing his attack home, or marching to the sound of the heaviest guns and throwing his units in at the correct place, as "Stonewall" Jackson had done. This was the same Longstreet who had confused matters before Chancellorsville. There Lee had been induced to send Longstreet to cover Richmond, but with a warning "so to dispose his forces that they could return at the first alarm." The warning was disregarded. Longstreet followed a suggestion made by Secretary Seddon to attack Suffolk, a hundred and twenty miles away. And Longstreet has unconcernedly mentioned in his memoirs that his troops were so distant that they could not take part in the battle. And—what is more remarkable still—Lee still kept him as a corps commander!

At Gettysburg it was the same Longstreet. Read his *apologia* entitled "From Manassas to Appomattox," and note the fashion, set down by himself, in which he dickered and objected at Gettysburg. Note how, when the orders were insisted on, he

only half-heartedly carried them out. Note the palpably insufficient force he sent to do the huge work which Lee had directed. Pickett's charge became little more than a magnificent gesture. Fifteen thousand infantry tried to crash the centre of an immeasurably superior Union force, and were, of course, doomed to failure. It would have meant much to the Confederates, and to Lee's soldierly reputation, too, if the gray commander had replied to Longstreet's arguments as General Pelissier in the Crimea replied to General Niel, the stool pigeon of Napoleon III: "You are not here to stuff your own opinions down my throat, but to take my orders." One has only to read Longstreet's own book to wonder how he ever remained in any responsible position all the way from Manassas to Appomattox. It has been the fashion to excuse Lee's defeat at Gettysburg by blaming his subordinates. It would be more proper to say that Lee failed at Gettysburg because he had failed to make his subordinates comply with orders.

Enduring and depending still upon such subordinates as these, it is no excuse for Lee that he had sat back, as his aide Marshall says he did, and left the corps commanders to their tasks. All the more reason for personal activity on the part of the superior chief. When the drive of a commander was needed, the commander had it not. Lee at Gettysburg was no such captain as "Stonewall" Jackson at Chancellorsville, inspiring, pushing, compelling, in person making the difficult attacks go right by mere force of personality exerted on the spot. He was not such a man as Marlborough at Blenheim, to "ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm." The battle, Lee himself said, "would have been gained, could one determined and united blow have been delivered by our whole line." Such a blow was not delivered because Lee had not the nervous power to drive it home. Although no valid excuse for his own actions, it was truth which Longstreet spoke when he said that Lee "should have put an officer in charge who had more confidence" in the plan. The commander should impel confidence, compel performance. This Lee did not do. He did not create union of effort. He did not supply the needed determination. The loss of the battle was

his fault. In being previously too considerate of his subordinates, he had laid the foundations which resulted in his own failure to attain first rank as a great commander.

Let protagonists talk of his tactical skill and of his strategic insight. Let them argue that he, rather than Jackson, should have credit for conceiving the brilliant flank attack at Chancellorsville. Let them try to blame Stuart or Ewell or Longstreet for the confusions and failures near Gettysburg. Lee was in command, in Pennsylvania as well as in Virginia. If the responsibility was his south of the Rapidan—as he did not fail to remark—it was also

his north of the Potomac. Truth knows no distinction of rivers. In war, conception is something. Decision is much. Decisiveness is more. Performance is everything. The art of war, as has been so frequently said, is an art wholly of execution. The military mind may deal with situations and methods. The military character is needed to supplement and utilize the military mind. Military character gives dominance of will, enforces and creates discipline, ensures execution. Such a character Robert E. Lee did not have. Skilled strategist and tactician he might be, a gracious, lovable and scholarly officer and gentleman. But he was not a great commander.

II—Lee's Achievement in Spite of Tremendous Handicaps

By DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN

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COMPARISONS among military commanders are quite impossible unless all the circumstances under which they fought their campaigns are understood. This is particularly so with the Generals of the Southern Confederacy, because they raised their armies and waged their battles under conditions that have no counterpart in modern war.

The eleven seceding States of the South had a population of 9,103,000, as against 22,340,000 in the States opposing them. This gave the South the disadvantage in potential man-power of odds that were 1:2.5 at the outset of the war. These odds were lengthened as the struggle progressed, because the system of bounties adopted in the North brought many Europeans into the Union ranks, whereas the South could draw men only from within its own borders. Aliens to the number of 494,000 were enlisted in the Union armies, which first and last carried 2,865,000 men on their rolls. The South had only 900,000 at most.

The man-power of the South was as peculiar in quality as it was limited in quantity. The troops the Confederacy brought into the field were, at the begin-

ning of the war, physically strong and able to sustain long marches, but they were as extreme individualists as ever were taught to salute. Reared in a society where every white believed himself the equal of every other, the Confederate recruit was proud, quick-tempered and resentful of every effort to impose restraints on his individual acts. He was brave, patriotic and ready to make any sacrifice, but it galled him to take orders. This characteristic of the Southern armies is essential to any understanding of the military problems of the Confederacy. In 1861-62 her soldiers regarded themselves, in the apt words of one survivor, as "a voluntary association of gentlemen, formed to drive out the Yankees." It was difficult to get this "association" to use fortifications, much less to build them or to submit to the discipline necessary for effective attacks or economical defenses. Their idea of battle, at the outset of hostilities, was to charge bayonets.

Trained leaders, capable of bringing these individualists under discipline, were few in number. The South had in her armies only 250 graduates of the United States Military Academy. The Virginia Military Institute

and the Charleston Citadel, which were the only large military schools in the South decently equipped to train prospective officers, contributed respectively 790 and 193 graduates to the army. This meant an approximate total of 1,233 trained or partially trained officers for armies that probably mustered 300,000 men by the Spring of 1862. Thousands of officers had to be trained while they were training their troops. Staff organization had to be created from the very bottom under a newly created War Department that changed Secretaries three times by Nov. 21, 1862.

With this inferiority in population and this limited supply of officers to train soldiers who despised routine discipline, the South was further handicapped because it was fundamentally agricultural and almost entirely lacking in manufactories to supply munitions, equipment and ships. The actual conditions were much more unfavorable than is indicated by the census of 1860, because the manufacturing establishments in the Southern States were, as a rule, those of plantations or neighborhoods, employing only a few men and wholly incapable of any large-scale production. The South had no plant capable of building a marine boiler and only one rolling mill that could cast cannon.

The South, moreover, did not command the seas and, after the Summer of 1862, suffered from a blockade of steadily increasing severity. The existence of this blockade is known, of course, to every one; its consequences are often overlooked even by those who write military history. The Northern armies could command supplies in any desired quantity from the entire world whenever their needs could not be met by the developed industrialism of the Eastern United States. The South had to rely on what it seized at the outbreak of hostilities, on what it could extemporize, on what it could procure from blockade runners and on what it could capture.

THE SOUTH'S LACK OF FUNDS

Everything that was done to meet these deficiencies had to be undertaken with fiat money. The South had only a few millions of specie at the beginning of the war and this soon disappeared. The Government was able to borrow so little abroad that when

the Confederacy collapsed it owed only \$11,000,000 on its foreign debt. Its paper currency by August, 1863, was at 12 to 1 for gold, and by October, 1864, it was 26 to 1. The currency of the North, on the other hand, never sank below 2.85 to 1. This was more than a general handicap to the Confederacy. Lack of funds tied the hands of every quartermaster and of every commissary in the Confederate Army and often reduced the mobility of the army.

These limitations in men, in leadership, in resources, in equipment and in money applied to all Confederate commanders and are as much to be taken into account in appraising Johnston and Forrest as in judging Lee. They are enough to make any thoughtful historical writer careful before he compares the achievements of any of these men with those of modern commanders who have behind them the man-power of great nations and the incalculable resources of industrialized States.

Lee had some advantages over his comrades who fought in the far South. His appeals for re-enforcements were more often honored than theirs, as far as the Confederacy was ever able to replace its armies as the Federals did. Lee soon acquired, also, a prestige that subjected him to less executive interference than some of the other Confederate Army commanders had to endure. But he had his special disadvantages, also. He fought at the far end of the Confederate line of communications, and after the Autumn of 1862 he could seldom issue his troops half the rations that were allowed the men he opposed. He fought the campaign of 1864 on little more than quarter rations. His ammunition was always so scant that the close of almost every major battle found him largely dependent on what he had captured. Despite his constant attention to it, his transportation was so poor that he could never follow up a victory, even when his inferior forces had not been exhausted by the action. His horse supply declined steadily, to the great impairment of his cavalry after the Summer of 1863. In the Fall of 1864 the starvation of his horses seemed so certain that he had to scatter his cavalry over a very wide area.

His strategical problems were especially difficult. He commanded the "frontier army" and he was charged, also, with the

defense of the capital. Against his wishes the Administration laid it down as essential that Richmond should be held. Ere long the city was so much of a munition centre that its fall would have been catastrophic, even if it had not become the symbol of Confederate defiance of the enemy. As the country around Richmond was fought over, the victualing of an army in its front grew hopelessly difficult. This was one of the considerations that led Lee to invade Maryland, thereby overtaxing his communications. Moreover, the defense of Richmond was far from easy. North of it was excellent ground for manoeuvre. Several river lines admirably protected it against advances from that direction. But from April, 1862, onward, Richmond was vulnerable to attack up the James River. Lee always had to face the possibility that, while he was operating at a distance from Richmond, the enemy might use his sea power and set down a strong expedition within ten miles of the city he was told to safeguard at any cost. At the same time the only effective means of keeping the enemy from sudden attacks on Richmond was to threaten him in such numbers that he would not dare divide his forces and endanger Washington by a thrust at Richmond. There were other strategical factors involving the safety of Lee's communications and the occupation of the Shenandoah Valley, but these must be passed by.

NO RESERVE FORCES

In meeting his strategical problems, with the sadly limited equipment and supplies at his command, Lee had always to take into account the necessity of conserving the forces he had, because he knew he could not replace them. He absorbed the little garrisons that a mistaken administrative policy had scattered about at points of supposed danger, but after he had put these men into the Army of Northern Virginia he could get nothing further except a thin flow of inferior conscripts. Whatever hopes the South ever had of independence and of foreign recognition were bound up with a defensive that would convince the North of its inability to subjugate the Confederacy. To do his part in maintaining this waiting policy, Lee simply could not take chances of heavy battle losses if manoeuvre or strategy could serve.

Besides, when Lee took command in front of Richmond on June 1, 1862, the general staff was scarcely existent. He did not have a decent map by which to conduct a campaign and scarcely an officer capable at that time of writing out a battle order and seeing that it was understood. His abandonment of the "grand strategy" after the Seven Days' campaign was due fundamentally to his realization that he did not have a staff capable of directing difficult movements, such as the simultaneous convergence of columns for an envelopment. It was almost as bad with the field officers he found in charge when he succeeded Johnston. He soon transferred four of the seven division commanders and he quickly promoted the promising men, but he discovered ere long that he had to make the best of the deficiencies of some of his Generals, simply because he had no men to take their places who were not subject to still greater limitations. He could not chop off a head, as Grant or Pershing could, with reasonable assurance that the man he promoted was as good as the man he relieved. Lee stated this very simply in a letter to Hood on May 21, 1863: "I agree with you in believing that our army would be invincible if properly organized and officered. There never were such men in an army before. They will go anywhere and do anything if properly led. But there is the difficulty—proper commanders. Where can they be obtained?" He had to put up with their mistakes and even with their sulking, in the hope that they would learn from their mistakes.

This explains his tender treatment of Longstreet, which many critics have regarded as the greatest fault of his military character. At Second Manassas, Longstreet was guilty of behavior that would have justified Lee in having him court-martialed. But it was Longstreet's first serious failure. Jackson had been a like disappointment during the Seven Days and had gloriously redeemed himself. Might not Longstreet do likewise? In any case, the army had won a victory. Was it prudent to exhibit by a dramatic demotion that opportunity had been lost? And who was there to take over Longstreet's command for the advance into Maryland, which could not wait on a cautious reorganization of the army? There

was only one answer. Lee had to keep Longstreet because he had no better man to substitute for him, and he sought to overcome Longstreet's slowness by marching with him as often as possible.

At Gettysburg, Longstreet failed Lee again, more disastrously. In an army well supplied with soldiers, Lee would have been without excuse for continuing Longstreet in command. But whom could he put in his place? There was not at that time in Longstreet's corps a single division commander who could have been considered for the post, except, perhaps, Hood. And Hood had been badly wounded on the second day. Outside the corps, Rodes or Early were the only possible choices. Rodes had just been promoted to divisional command and Early's peculiarities were only too well known. It was a time very critical, both for the safety and for the morale of the army. If either Rodes or Early or any other divisional commander had been put in Longstreet's place, Lee would have had all three of his corps under men not one of whom had been at his post two months. For Ewell and A. P. Hill had both been promoted after Jackson's death, when Lee had divided the Second Corps, largely because there would have been too great a risk in entrusting all of it either to Ewell or to A. P. Hill. It was circumstance, therefore, not weakness, that kept Lee from giving Longstreet what he most surely merited for his behavior at Gettysburg.

FAILURE OF DISCIPLINARY METHODS

Jackson, with a far smaller force, was able to enforce in person a stern and effective discipline, but certain of the other army commanders of the Confederacy tried on their high-spirited, non-professional subordinates the disciplinary methods that Lee is sometimes condemned for not applying more fully. The result was friction and contention, which were among the chief causes of Confederate disaster, as, for instance, in Bragg's East Tennessee campaign. Lee, of course, did not find the perfect solution of his difficulties. That rarely happens with any General. But those who magnify his consideration and amiability into a fatal defect have the burden of demonstrating how he could have done better in the circumstances that surrounded him.

Although Captain Colby doubtless is familiar with all this, he finds many defects in Lee and is shocked at what he considers to be a disposition to make Lee "an almost mythological figure * * * a great General, worthy of standing forever beside the great commanders of all time." He condemns Lee for many things—from his failure to address his superiors "as old 'Ben' Butler did," to his lack of the qualities of "the hard-boiled, dominating type." Captain Colby is sure that Lee was "not a strong man like Pershing" and he is determined to destroy what he terms a "Lee legend," even if in so doing he has to make comparisons that create a Pershing legend.

For his zeal in the one respect, if not in the other, Captain Colby is to be commended. There should be no Lee legend. The Confederate General-in-Chief should not be represented as a superman who worked out his strategical problems as easily and as impersonally as the tide machine in Washington computes the ebb and flow. Youth would lose inspiration if he were portrayed as always so self-contained, and so surely the master of himself that his decisions and his self-restraint represented no inward battle. For character means as much to history as military genius, even that of the "hard-boiled, dominating type" that Captain Colby lauds.

As for Lee's place in history, who can determine it so soon? History is a judge that abhors hasty decisions and scorns special pleadings, no matter whether it be to belittle the dead or to flatter the living. Individual opinion of Lee or of any other soldier, or of any statesman, is simply a brief in the court of time, valuable only in so far as it is unprejudiced and informed. If opinions were decisive now, or if comparisons were proper, one could answer Captain Colby with Colonel Henderson, who wrote the great biography of Jackson, or with Colonel John Buchan, author of the most satisfactory history of the World War yet produced, or with Colonel Maurice, who combines patient study of Lee with experience as director of operations of the British Imperial General Staff, or with Field Marshal Lord Wolseley, who visited Lee's headquarters, or with Lord Haig, who studied his campaigns, or with any or all of a hundred other soldiers. But theirs

would still be opinions and only opinions. It is better simply to state the facts and to leave the court of time to reach its own decision.

A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

As the leader of a volunteer army of proud individualists in a revolutionary, blockaded, agricultural State, Lee took command on June 1, 1862, when McClellan's outposts were within four and a half miles of Richmond. With 80,800 men he forced McClellan, who had 115,200 men at his disposal, to raise the siege of Richmond, and in pursuit of McClellan he captured enough small arms to supply, for the time being, the worst deficiencies of his wretchedly equipped army.

Within three months he brought his undisciplined troops to an efficiency that made it possible for him to divide his forces in the face of the enemy and, by rapid flank marches, to win the battle of Second Manassas.

At the end of a year the condition of his army was such that his adversary in the Chancellorsville campaign, General Joseph Hooker, was prompted to say: "With rank and file vastly inferior to ours intellectually and physically, that army has, by discipline alone, acquired a character for steadiness and efficiency unsurpassed, in my judgment, in ancient or modern times."

Although the command of the seas made it possible for the Union forces to get within ten miles of Richmond at any time, Lee kept them at least fifty miles from Richmond for twenty-three months.

In 1864, after he had lost his most brilliant lieutenant and had almost ceased to receive replacements, he put out of action in forty days enemy forces numbering within 2,000 of as many men as he had at any time

in the campaign from the Rapidan to the James.

From May 4, 1864, to April 9, 1865, he inflicted on his great adversary losses of 124,390, or two for every man he had in his opposing army when it was at its largest during that period.

From June 27, 1862, to the beginning of the second siege of Richmond, on June 20, 1864, he fought eleven general engagements. He lost Sharpsburg and Gettysburg, but in the other nine he was left in possession of the field by an adversary that always outnumbered him by 20 per cent. and often by much more than that.

Although his man-power was nearing exhaustion and his troops were close to starvation, he held the Richmond defenses for ten months, opposing an average of more than 100,000 Federals with never more than 60,000 Confederates on a line that ultimately was thirty-seven miles in length. For a part of the time he held that line with less than 1,500 men to the mile.

He so won the devotion of his officers and men that they were willing to follow him through any hardships, confident that he would lead them to victory and that he would demand of them no greater sacrifices than their country's cause demanded. And when, at the last, hunger and disaster had reduced them to less than 8,000 bayonets, they pleaded with him not to surrender, but to send them forward to cut their way through the great army of Grant that had almost enveloped them at Appomattox.

Let history judge whether, as Captain Colby affirms, this was the work of a man lacking in discipline, lacking "in the nervous power" to "drive his blows home" and lacking "in the decisive will power to impress the will of the commander upon the rank and file," "not a strong man like Pershing."



International Developments in the Woman's Movement

By HELEN A. ARCHDALE

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THE woman's movement in Europe and the Americas during the last ten years has shifted its direction and its scope. From aiming at equal suffrage, one element of citizenship, it now aims at equal citizenship in all its elements. From national work it has swung over into international work. The base of the movement remains, as from its beginning, equality. Always, in all its manifestations, the movement has had that solid foundation, which is at the same time cause, base, motive, and goal.

In those countries of Europe, whether monarchical or republican, where the women are still without even equality of suffrage, the outward expression of the movement is still mainly directed toward that particular element of equality. In the countries, on the other hand, where women have either complete equality of suffrage or a measure of inequality, the movement has turned itself with continued vigor to other elements. It is only in detail that the countries vary. All through Europe with its strongly contrasted religions, with such diverse conceptions of the rights of women, one finds the women organizing all with the same aim. Christianity, with its many denominations and sects; Moslemism, with its subdivisions; in all may be found the woman, enlightened, striving to be placed and to be treated as man's equal. She claims the rights, she claims the duties and the responsibilities of equal citizenship. In the United States, with its many races and creeds; in the South American Republics, with their admixture of race and creed rooted in antiquity, women are emerging with the same demand, equality.

Where standards of education and government are high, one naturally finds more women of the higher standard. Where standards of education and government are more primitive, more imbued with the chattel conception of women, there the out-

standing women are fewer. The few, however, have no lower individual standards of education, probity, capability than the many in more generally advanced countries. Where the national codes are based upon transplanted, non-native written codes, much digging and alteration of age-old tradition is required. In others, revolution and world war have presented brand new codes and into these it is interesting to note a disposition to write basic equality.

In the Americas, as in Europe, there are the same variety of expression, the same basic demand, and the same legislative problems. There is Canada, with her astonishing mixture of ancient and modern, swinging between the ancient idea of chattel and the modern idea of equality. The United States, federally, has begun to understand equality, but many of the State Legislatures still preserve laws of ancient French, Spanish and British origin, founded on the chattel idea of women. A nation fortunately has a way of stepping ahead of its laws, and this is markedly noticeable in the United States. In the Southern Republics one finds the laws based upon the old Spanish and French codes, but working through these is the more ancient and native conception of a free womanhood, and some of these Republics show a remarkable absence of sex legislation.

It may be these rapidly developing nations that will lead in obtaining an international equal rights treaty for women. They are certainly, at the time of writing, showing more understanding of the women's demand and more activity in making it. While Britain boggled for ten years between equal and unequal franchise and still denies to her women equality in many important directions, while France exhibits a lamentable stupidity in refusing the franchise to her women (lamentable indeed to the admirers of her past and the would-be admirers of her present and future),

Colombia presents to her Congress an Equal Rights Bill; and Argentine, in 1926, gave absolute equality in civil rights and functions to the adult woman, single, divorced or widowed, leaving the married woman still bound by differentiations mainly concerned with parenthood and marriage settlements and their effects. Many other Southern Republics are showing a similar tendency to move with the times; they have not that exaggerated reverence for old law too frequently exhibited in European countries.

DIVERSITY OF METHOD

While there is identity of aim, it must be realized that there is diversity of method within the women's movement as a whole. The movement, as now seems to be the case in all movements, has its right and left wings. It includes thousands of women who are neither suffragist nor feminist. The term "suffragist" explains itself and denotes those demanding equal suffrage. For a definition of "feminism" I would refer my readers to Webster's *International Dictionary*, Addendum, 1927:

Feminism: The theory, cult and practice of those who hold that present laws, conventions, and conditions of society prevent the free and full development of women, and who advocate such changes as will do away with undue restrictions upon her political, social, and economic conduct and relations; also the propaganda for securing these changes.

These women, neither suffragist nor feminist, form a large majority of all organized women, that is, women gathering into groups for any and every purpose. Any group or association of women is for unexplained reasons counted as part of the women's movement, so that in writing of the movement the same reckoning must be made, although many prefer to count in the movement only those of the suffrage and feminist faith.

In Europe, and especially in Great Britain, these groups are associated for a specific purpose, generally professional—e. g., engineers, lawyers, doctors and teachers, and are predominantly feminist in that their object is the removal of sex barriers within their professions. These professional groups are more common in Europe than in the Americas and are nearly all supporters and active participants in the de-

mand for equality. The United States, doubtless owing to its vast size, organizes women more in geographical than in professional groups; consequently the aim widens also. The American Federation of Women's Clubs may be taken as the example of a geographical grouping rather than, as in Great Britain, the professional grouping. In the Southern Americas and in Canada, the same tendency to group into Clubs prevails, the qualification of membership being sex or local residence, rather than unity of thought.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

All through such geographical groupings are to be found, naturally, many different views as to the direction of the movement, and this diversity has recently come to a head in international matters. The two great international groups of women, the International Alliance for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship and the International Council of Women, which have branches and affiliated societies in every country of the world and which are now rumored to be considering amalgamation, are facing the problem of bringing into agreement their left and right wings. Earlier this year the Alliance was seriously attacked because of its preoccupation with peace instead of with equality for women. Both its present and its past presidents were at pains to write long editorials in the official organ answering the question: "What is the Alliance?" It would appear from an outside point of view that the officials of the Alliance consider that peace is the most important thing for which women should work, while among the rank and file are many who put the original aim of the Alliance, an aim embodied in its title, as most important. A similar divergence is plain in the national groups in Great Britain where the right wing, with its wide program, has come to be known as the "Social Reformers" and the left wing, with its single aim of equality, the "Feminists." An exact counterpart is found in the United States, where one group presents a wide program of social reform and the other holds to one point only—equality. Both left and right wings in both these great countries demand equality, but one group believes that women, as women, have a pe-

culiar duty toward social reform and a point of view peculiarly their own on all matters, and must exercise that duty and express that point of view even though excluded from citizenship; the other group demands the full rights of citizenship before entering upon its duties and does not believe in the separation and segregation of women as a class apart from men.

The steady pressure exerted by the organized women the world over, with its fundamental drive toward equality, must have its effect. Many see in certain signs now appearing within the movement the approach of victory. In some of the nations which have enfranchised their women, suffrage has been granted on demand. In others it has been only granted after a long and bitter struggle. The right wing of the movement, depending upon educational methods, as for example in Britain, France, the United States, and Canada, worked for fifty years without success. In Great Britain, the left wing took charge, became militant and victory resulted. In the United States the same thing happened. In Canada the left wing is still too small to be effective, and educational methods still prevail. In France the left wing has, only this year, started a militant campaign and undoubtedly the die-hards of France will be overpowered. These results seem to prove that the educationalists prepare the long road but do not have the political impatience necessary to find the end of the road; while the left wing has not the social patience to wait for permission to proceed, but has the political sense to grasp victory. Then when victory is achieved both wings rejoice and function together.

GROWTH OF "POLITICAL SENSE"

The same right and left wings are in the international movement and in the last two years the left wing has become more and more active. For many years now there have been held international conferences of women, unofficial, largely attended by right wingers but not to any great extent by the left. The agenda of these conferences cover a wide field, widening also as the years pass, and a study of them during the last thirty years shows a great interest in social reform, gradually changing into an increasing interest in the political as-



Bachrach

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and leader in the campaign for the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the vote

pects of such reform. For example, a resolution on sanitation of thirty years ago would take the form of urging women to study the question and to do something about it. Nowadays, a resolution on sanitation would take the form of a request to authority, either national or international, to set itself to work to improve the sanitation for which it is responsible. The political sense grows rapidly among enfranchised women. They are no longer resigned, as were their grandmothers, to the traditional woman's job of cleaning up after the men. Enfranchisement has shown them how they can prevent the mess before it is made. And so here in the international movement there has appeared the left wing, the equality section, active, energetic, single-minded.

Since the Great War of 1914-1918, the movement has been gathering itself again. In those countries where men were flung into that struggle for life and death, the women were necessarily flung also; but the

past ten years of reconstruction have served to increase women's zest for authority, and now the movement is in full swing again. It has suffered its ups and downs, and women have received full equality of citizenship in one country, have been denied even the elementary right of suffrage in another, admitted here, excluded there.

In the League of Nations Covenant, that after-war product, it is written: "All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women."

This has proved meaningless and the male controllers of the League ignore it. In all positions, except that of typist, under or in connection with the League, there is a marked absence of women. It has only been by the most strenuous and persistent work of organized women that Substitute Delegates and Technical Advisers have been appointed. Higher posts are for men only; Commissions and Committees generally contain at the most one woman, with the ex-

ception of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children which has an equal number of men and women.

The result of this sex segregation is the old one experienced with national legislatures when they were for men only. The main trend of thought is made also. This takes two lines and either is dangerous to women. One line of thought is the paternal, convinced that women are to be classed with children and not with adults. This thought expresses itself in legislation muddle-headedly designed and then applied, which exposes the child to adult conditions and restricts the adult woman to the capacities of a child. The second line of thought, less ingenuous, is the thought of woman as competitor. Steadily opposed to any "advance" on the part of woman, determined through fear of her competition for wage, salary, honorable distinction to keep her away from opportunity, this line of thought expresses itself in similar legislation. Under the guise of protection, it wins the support of the kind-hearted paternal and is used to its utmost restrictive possibilities by the unscrupulous.

A very short time after the League of Nations got itself and its attached Commissions into functioning order, there began to appear a stream of legislation, offered for international acceptance or codification, specially applicable to women. Industry is already riddled with these laws, pressed by the conservative trade unionists' fear of woman's competition in an already precarious field of employment. There are signs that, following on the successful restriction of woman in industry, other legislation is contemplated to apply to and to restrict the professional woman. Other signs show that the civil and political status of woman is to come under review for international dictation. And all this with no woman in a position to control in any way such dictation.

GROWING ACTIVITY OF LEFT WING

It is not to be wondered at, then, that the left wing of the woman's movement has become active internationally. It will work constantly and increasingly, as it grows in strength, for an International Equal Rights Treaty. But beside that main pursuit it must also maintain ceaseless watch upon



Wide World Studio

LADY ASTOR, M. P.
A Virginian, and the first woman elected to
the British Parliament

all officially appointed and officially empowered international conferences, commissions, and so forth. This it must do for two purposes: One, to watch that women of suitable qualifications share the deliberations and the powers of any such conferences or commissions; two, that if any matter specifically concerning women is to be discussed, the wishes of women shall specifically receive full value.

It has only been in 1928 that the left wing has gone into action. Its first appearance was at the Sixth Pan-American Conference at Havana in January-February, when, encouraged by a group of South American women, four United States women went down to Havana and with the enthusiastic support and cooperation of the Southerners, presented to the Conference an Equal Rights Treaty. This novelty was rejected but the Conference, impressed by the women's demands, appointed an Inter-American Commission of Women

"charged with the preparation of information, juridical or of any other kind that may seem relevant, for presentation to the Seventh Pan-American Conference, to enable a study to be made of the civil and political equality of women of the whole continent. The Commission to be formed of seven women from different countries of America, chosen by the Pan American Union, to be completed later by the Commission itself by the addition of one representative from each country of the Americas."

The Pan American Union appointed Doris Stevens as Chairman and as the representative of the United States. One notices at once a name famous in the militant days of the suffrage fight in the United States. One realizes the same spirit coming into international work which used to be absorbed in national work and is now uniting to place international legislation on the same equality basis as it strove in the past to place national legislation.

The Pan-American offensive was followed in May by the appointment as delegate to the International Labor Organization minimum wage discussion in Geneva, of an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Abbott, a foremost feminist in that country. Representing not only Great Britain, but several European countries as well, she obtained the insertion in the Convention of an expression of opinion in favor of equality of minimum wage.

With the knowledge of an intention to

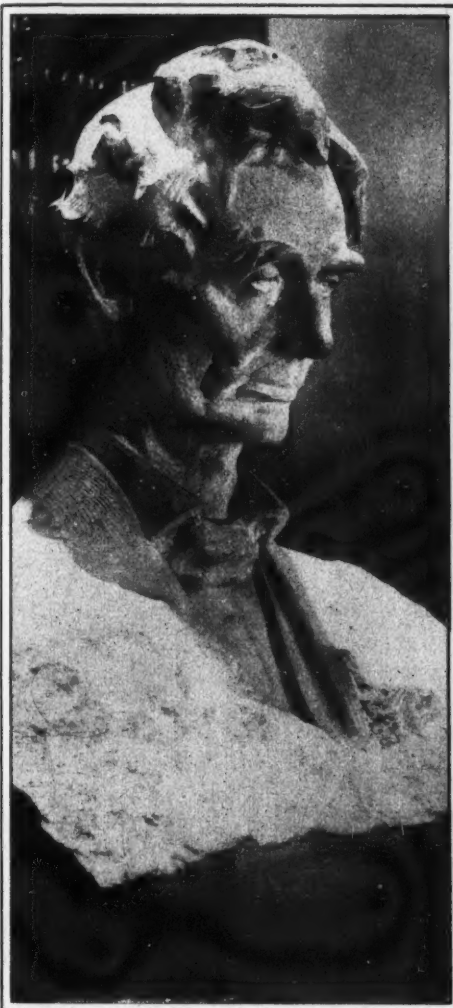
call the Commission of Jurists for Codification of International Law at The Hague in 1929, the international feminists are organizing a world-wide expression of opinion in this matter, that nationality shall not be affected by marriage. Considerable study of the laws on nationality has already been made by legal experts, and feminists are gathering all such material, are checking it, and will bring it up to date of the Jurist Conference, when that is decided, presenting a complete argument, backed by organized women of the whole world, against the inclusion of inequality in any international code.

DEMAND FOR COMPLETE EQUALITY

During the last ten years, while women in some countries have been still fighting for equal franchise, they no longer did so in national isolation. Their position is strengthened and they themselves receive great help from the example of the enfranchised countries. In some, the demand for equal franchise has been enlarged to that other, for equal rights. Women have learned that equality of franchise is not enough; equality, to be of real value, must be complete. Every distinction, restriction, prohibition or permission, based upon sex must be abolished, and no legislation, national or international, must be allowed to pass any more laws having a sex basis. That is the heart and core of the woman's movement in all countries. They want to be free of all legislative sex distinctions; they want to live their public lives as citizens, adult, responsible, free to enjoy all the advantages of citizenship, shoulder all its burdens. Sex is a private affair concerning only the private lives of citizens and in no way concerning their public lives. If, standing on an equality with the adult man, subject to the same laws, the adult woman finds herself failing, no law will be required to demonstrate that failing. Until she has been tested under equality she declines to be allocated, in the lump, to a lower grade. The equality the feminist aims at has now only been glimpsed; it is far from a reality; but the last ten years have drawn the women of the world into a rapidly growing sympathy of aim and of spirit accompanied by an active and effective cooperation.

Pictures in Rotogravure

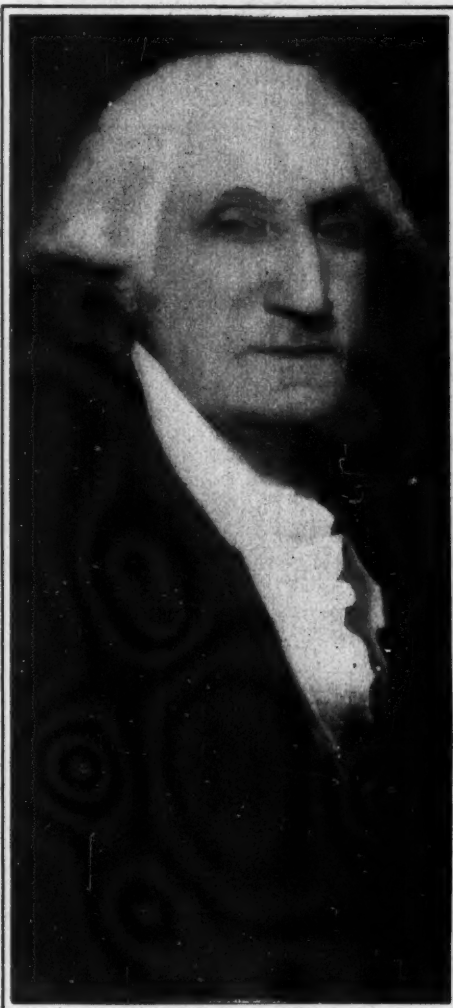
WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN IN NEW ASPECTS



A BUST OF LINCOLN

By Andrew O'Connor, American
sculptor, recently unveiled in the
Royal Exchange, London

Dorr News Service



**RECENTLY DISCOVERED POR-
TRAIT OF WASHINGTON**

A painting by Stuart showing him
younger than in the better-known
pictures. It has been acquired by
the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo,
from a Philadelphia family

Courtesy Buffalo Fine Arts Academy

OPENING OF REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN

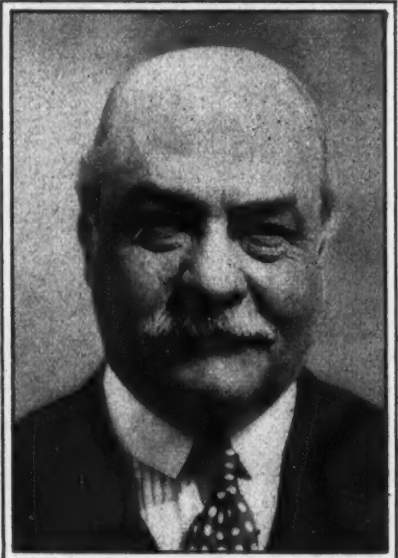


MRS. ALVIN T. HERT,
Vice Chairman of the Republican
National Committee, who is in
charge of the women's campaign
from headquarters in Washington

Harris & Ewing
From Times Wide World

**HER-
BERT
HOO-
VER**
Deliver-
ing His
Accept-
ance
Speech
at the
Notifica-
tion
Ceremo-
nies
in the
Stan-
ford
Stadium,
Palo
Alto,
Cal., on
Aug. 11

Times
Wide
World



NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
President of Columbia University
and prominent Republican, who
has announced himself as strong-
ly opposed to Mr. Hoover's atti-
tude on prohibition

Keystone

DEMOCRATS ENTER ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT



GOVERNOR SMITH

Delivering his notification address in the Assembly Chamber, Albany, N. Y., on Aug. 22

Times Wide World

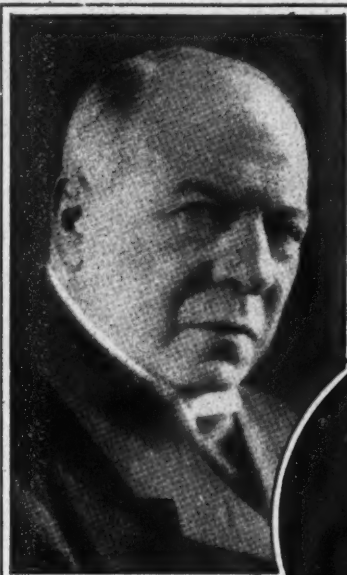


DEMOCRATIC WOMEN LEADERS

Advisory Committee on Women's Activities of the Democratic National Committee in conference with Senator Gerry. Left to right, seated: Miss Ida M. Tarbell, New York; Mrs. J. E. King, Texas, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, New York, Chairman. Standing: Agnes Hart Wilson, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Samuel Wilson, Kentucky; Mrs. Anna Strubel, South Dakota; Senator Peter Goellet Gerry, Mrs. Charles Sharpe, Alabama, and Mrs. La Rue Brown, Massachusetts

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PERSON-
ALITIES
IN THE
MONTH'S
NEWS



VISCOUNT HALDANE,
Former British War Min-
ister, who died on
Aug. 19



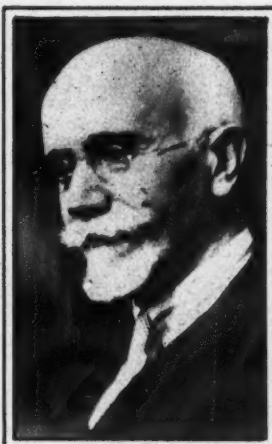
MARSHAL FAYOLLE,
French General in the
World War, who died
on Aug. 27



AHMED ZOGU,
the new King of Albania
Times Wide World



**COLONEL
GEORGE HARVEY,**
Former American Am-
bassador to Great Brit-
ain, who died on
Aug. 20
Underwood

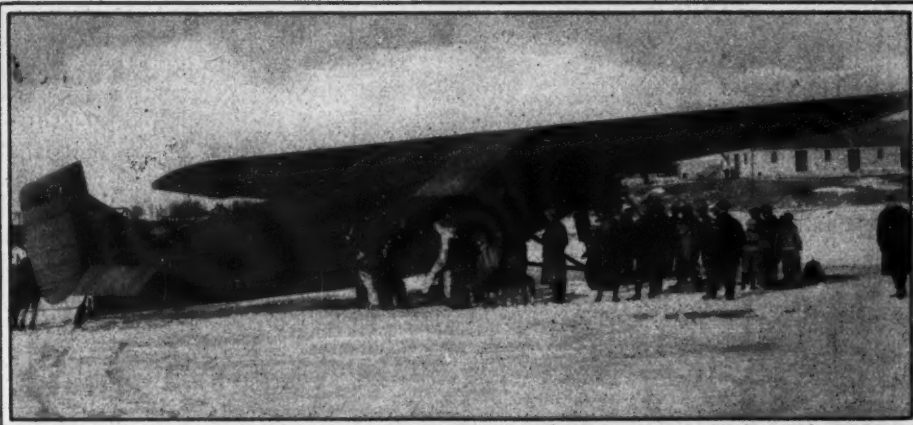


**ELEUTHERIOS
VENIZELOS**
A new portrait of the
Greek Premier
Acme



**PRINCE WILLIAM OF
WIED,**
King of Albania for a few
months in 1914, who claims
that he should be restored to
the throne
Times Wide World

BYRD'S ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION



ONE OF THE PLANES

The tri-motored Ford all-metal machine which Commander Byrd will have, with other airplanes, for flying to the South Pole. The photograph shows it in Canada being fitted with skis in place of wheels for ice work

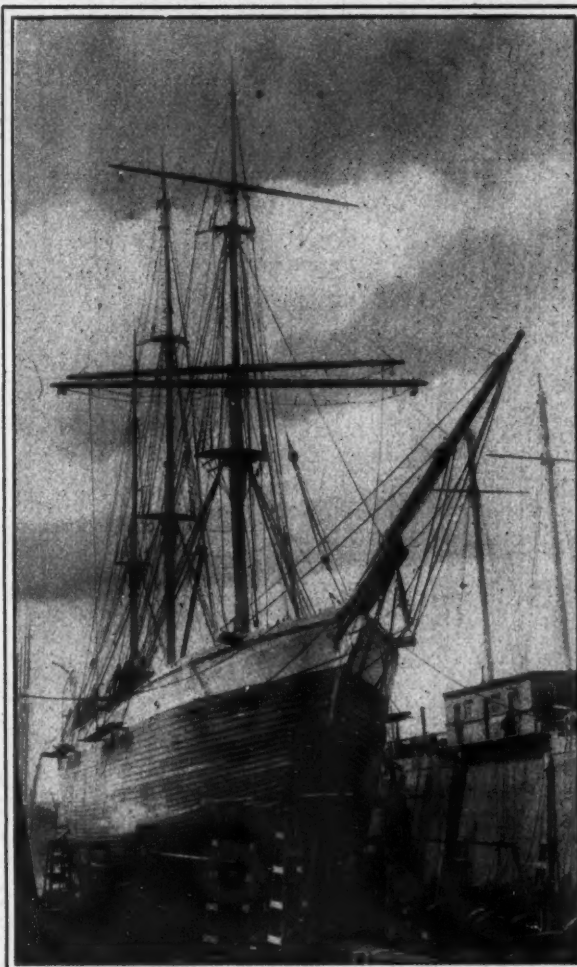
Times Wide World



THE ICE-BREAKER

The City of New York (formerly the Samson) in dry dock at Brooklyn, N. Y., where she was completely overhauled and strengthened before sailing on Aug. 25 with thirty-two of the men who will take part in the expedition under the leadership of Commander Richard E. Byrd

Times Wide World



AIRMEN RESCUED IN MID-ATLANTIC



LIFEBOAT SAVES AVIATORS' LIVES

Snapshot taken by a passenger on the Minnewaska of the ship's boat alongside the plane when Captain Courtney and his three companions were rescued

Times Wide World



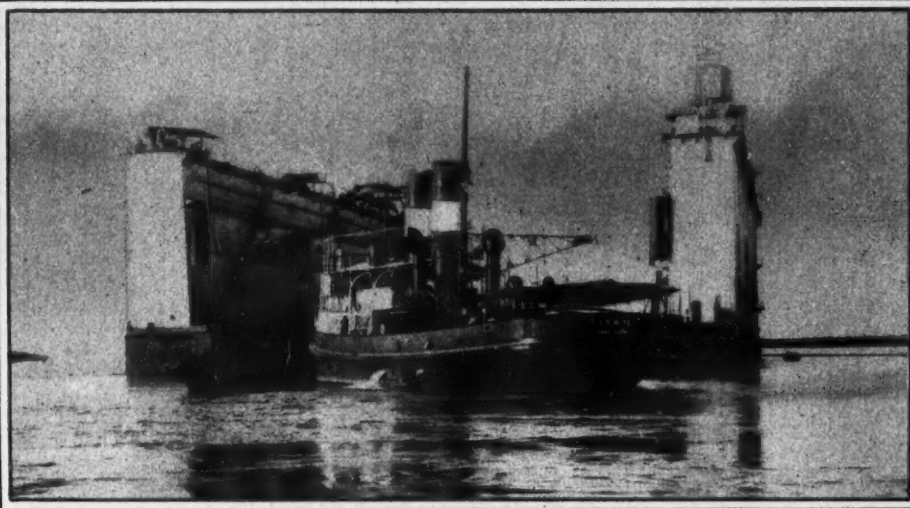
WAITING FOR HELP FROM LINER

Fred Pierce, Hugh Gilmour and Elmer Hosmer, the three companions of Captain Frank T. Courtney on the seaplane Whale, photographed by him during the eighteen hours that passed before the Minnewaska of the Atlantic Transport Line was able to reach them in response to a wireless call for help. After leaving the Azores on Aug. 1 on a flight to Newfoundland the plane caught fire and was forced down. The blaze was put out with fire extinguishers

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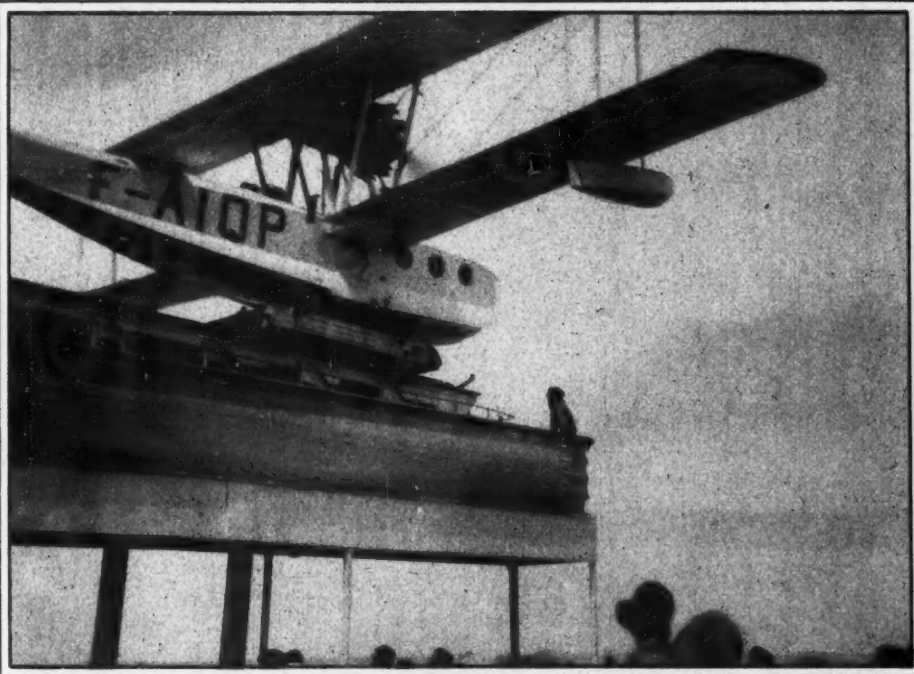
UNUSUAL SIGHTS AT SEA



SINGAPORE FLOATING DOCK

One of the two sections being towed through the Suez Canal on the long journey from England to Singapore in the Straits Settlements

Acme



MAIL PLANE LEAVING STEAMER

Aeroplane being catapulted from the deck of the Ile de France when 500 miles out at sea to enable mail from Europe to be delivered nearly a day in advance of the liner's arrival in New York

Acme

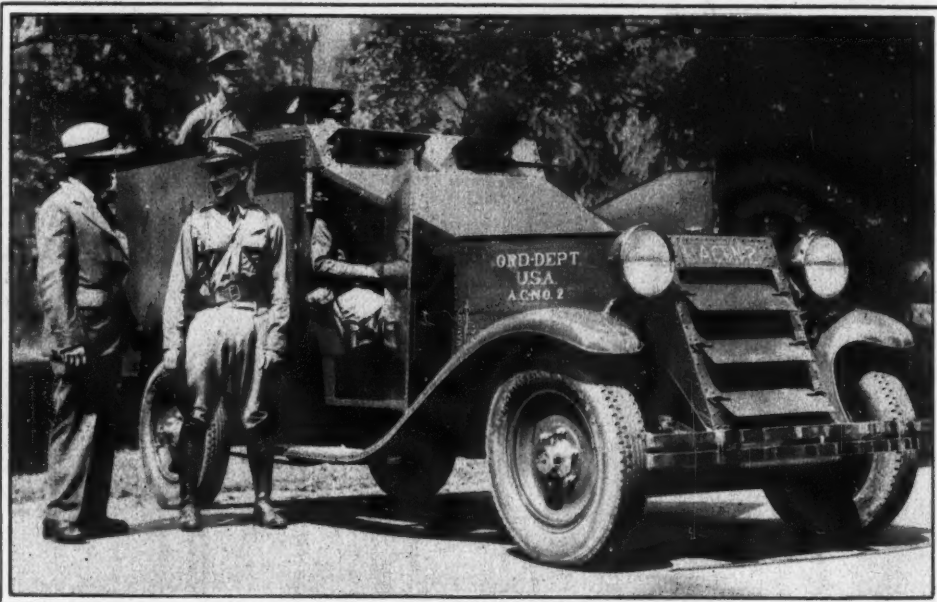
BUILDING UP THE NATION'S DEFENSES



TRAINING FUTURE ARMY OFFICERS

First-year cadets from West Point on the road with field guns

Acme



A NEW TYPE OF ARMORED CAR

F. Trubee Davison, Assistant Secretary of War, with Captain Holt, Commander of the First Armored Car Troop, inspecting one of the new machines in Washington before it left for Texas to join the First Cavalry Division

International

FOR PROTECTION AGAINST AERIAL ENEMIES



A NEW TYPE OF ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN

The largest piece of field equipment of the United States experimental mechanized force, weighing altogether eight tons, on the way from Fort Leonard Wood to Gettysburg

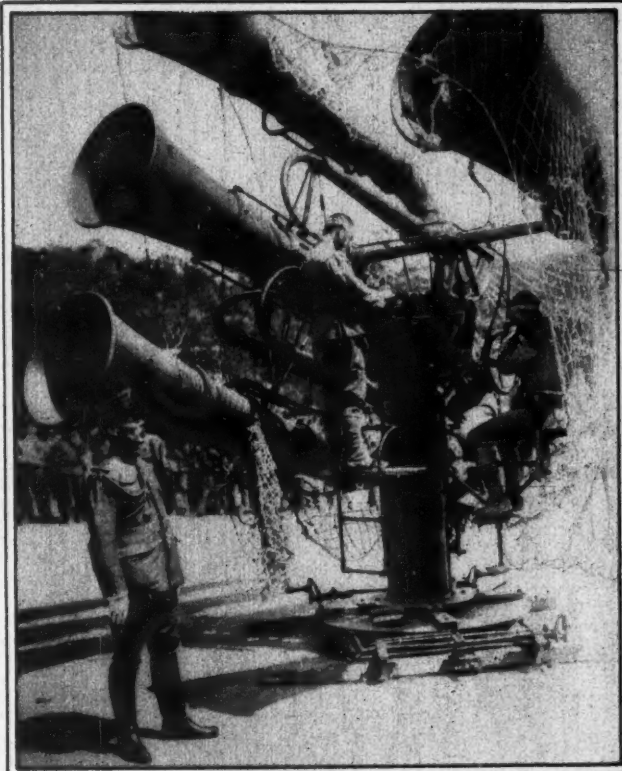
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TO DETECT ENEMY PLANES BY SOUND

One of the audiophones which the Japanese are using as part of their system of aerial defense

Acme



CHINA'S VICTORIOUS NATIONALIST LEADERS



AT THE TOMB OF SUN YAT-SEN

Nationalist leaders leaving the temple where Sun Yat-sen is buried after the ceremony of announcing to his spirit that the revolution had conquered Peking (Peking)

Times Wide World



THE NATIONALIST COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Chiang Kai-shek and his wife (a graduate of an American college) entering Peking (Peking) after the retirement of the Northern forces

Acme



FENG YU-HSIANG,

Commander of the army that fought its way through ten Provinces in the campaign for Peking (Peking), speaking at memorial services for his troops at Hankow

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AMONG THE RULERS OF JAPAN



"THE DIVINE LADY"

The mother of the late
Emperor visiting the Meiji
shrine in Tokio on the an-
niversary of his death

Times Wide World



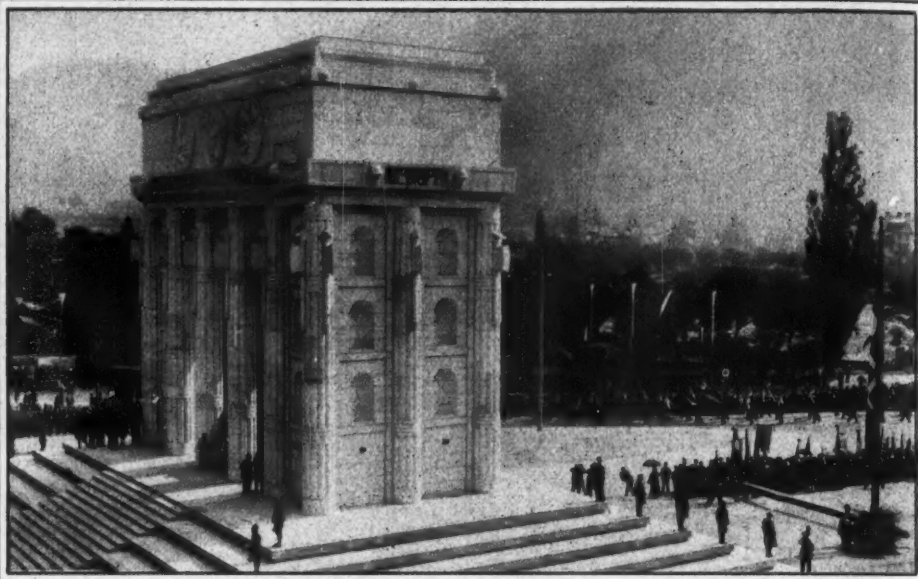
NEW ENVOY TO AMERICA

Katsuji Debuchi, Vice
Minister of Foreign Af-
fairs, who has been ap-
pointed Japanese Amba-
sador to the United States,
photographed with his
family at their home in
Tokio

Times Wide World



SYMBOLS OF NATIONAL POWER IN ITALY AND TURKEY



WAR MEMORIAL AT BOLZANO

Fascist insignia and Mussolini's name are features of this monument, which overlooks Italy's new frontier with Austria. It has roused much resentment in South Tyrol

Times Wide World



THE RISE OF THE NEW TURKEY

A monument in red and green marble recently unveiled in Constantinople. The group includes Kemal Pasha, Premier Ismet Pasha and Chief of Staff Fezzi Pasha

Acme



CEREMONIES ATTENDED BY EUROPEAN RULERS



NEW RAILROAD THROUGH THE PYRENEES

The opening on July 18 of the great new tunnel which shortens the railroad journey between Paris and Madrid by four hours was regarded as an event of political significance, as it was attended by both the King of Spain and the President of the French Republic. From left to right: King Alfonso, President Doumergue, M. Barthou and M. Tardieu, members of the French Cabinet

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RUMANIAN ROYALTIES IN MOURNING

Queen Marie, with Prince Nicholas and Princess Helen (mother of King Mihai), leaving the monastery at Curtes after attending services in memory of King Ferdinand

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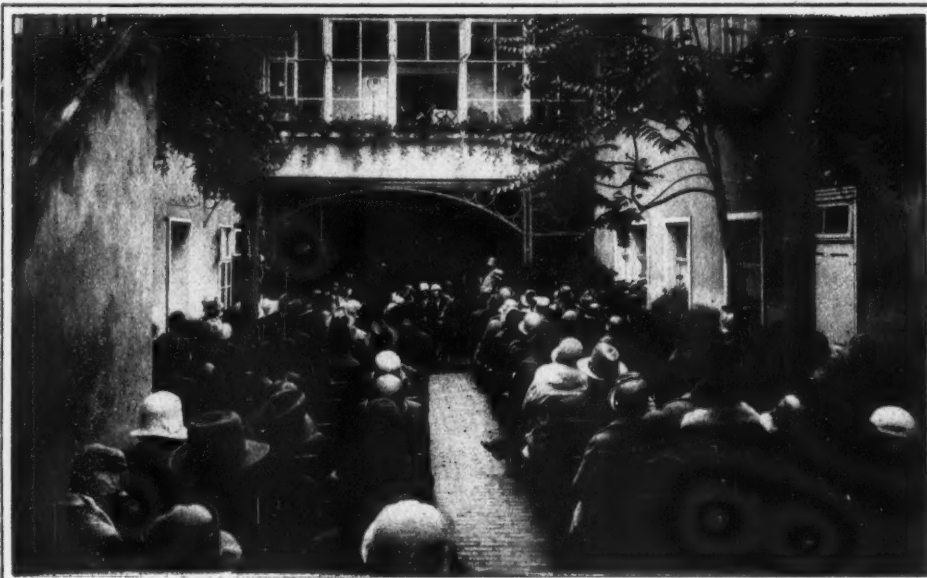
IN MEMORY OF A GREAT MUSICIAN



SCHUBERT CELEBRATION IN VIENNA

Some of the 200,000 singers who paraded through the Austrian capital at the opening of the festival of German and Austrian Singing Societies, which was attended by delegates from America and other parts of the world

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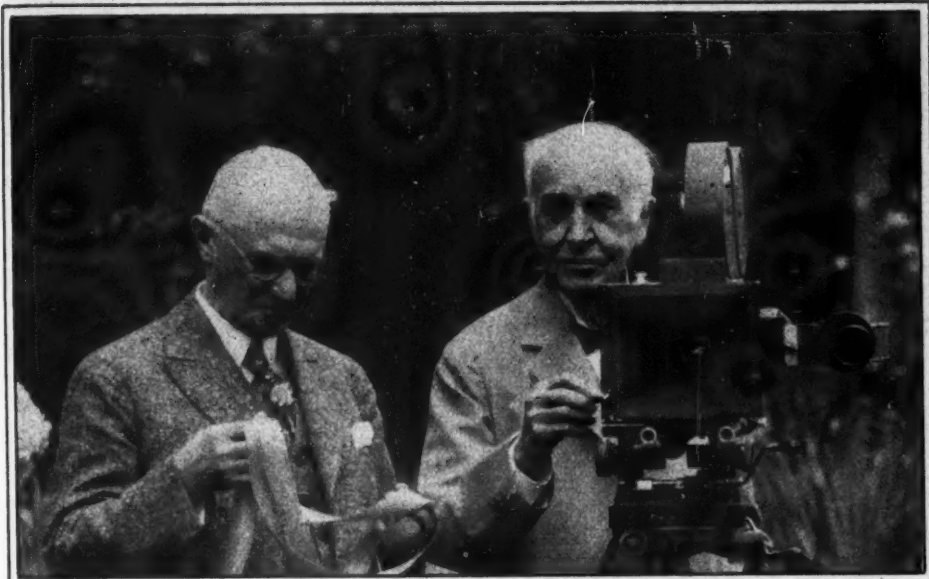


WHERE SCHUBERT WAS BORN

A concert of songs by the composer held in the courtyard of the house in Vienna where he was born

Times Wide World

SUCCESSFUL MOTION PICTURES IN COLOR



INVENTORS AT INTRO- DUCTION OF

KODACOLOR

George Eastman with Thomas A. Edison, who is seen operating a news reel camera, at the gathering in Rochester at which the Kodacolor method of making and showing color motion pictures was demonstrated for the first time. (See article elsewhere in this magazine)

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World



DR. C. E. K. MEES

Head of the research laboratories of the Eastman Kodak Company at Rochester, who has been in charge of the development of Kodacolor.

Times Wide
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Times Wide World

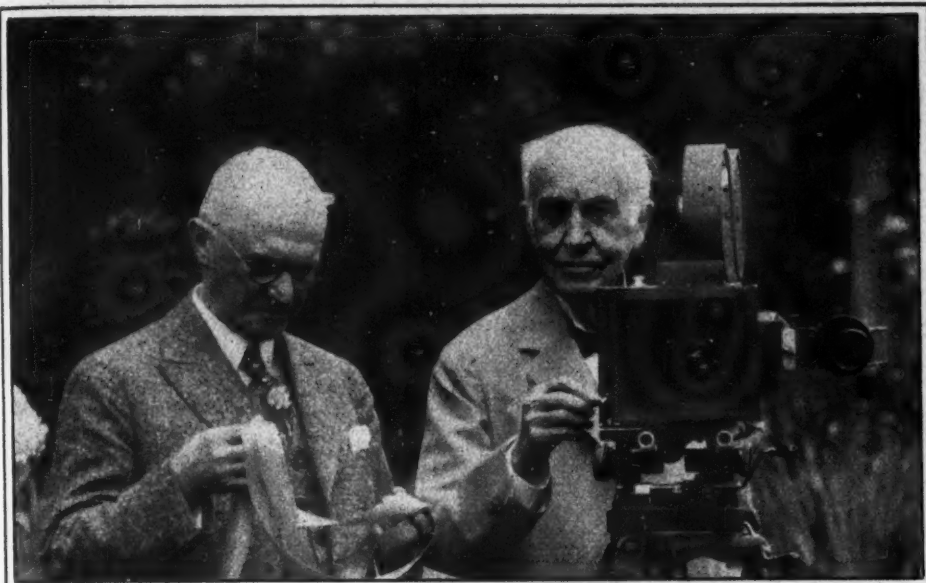


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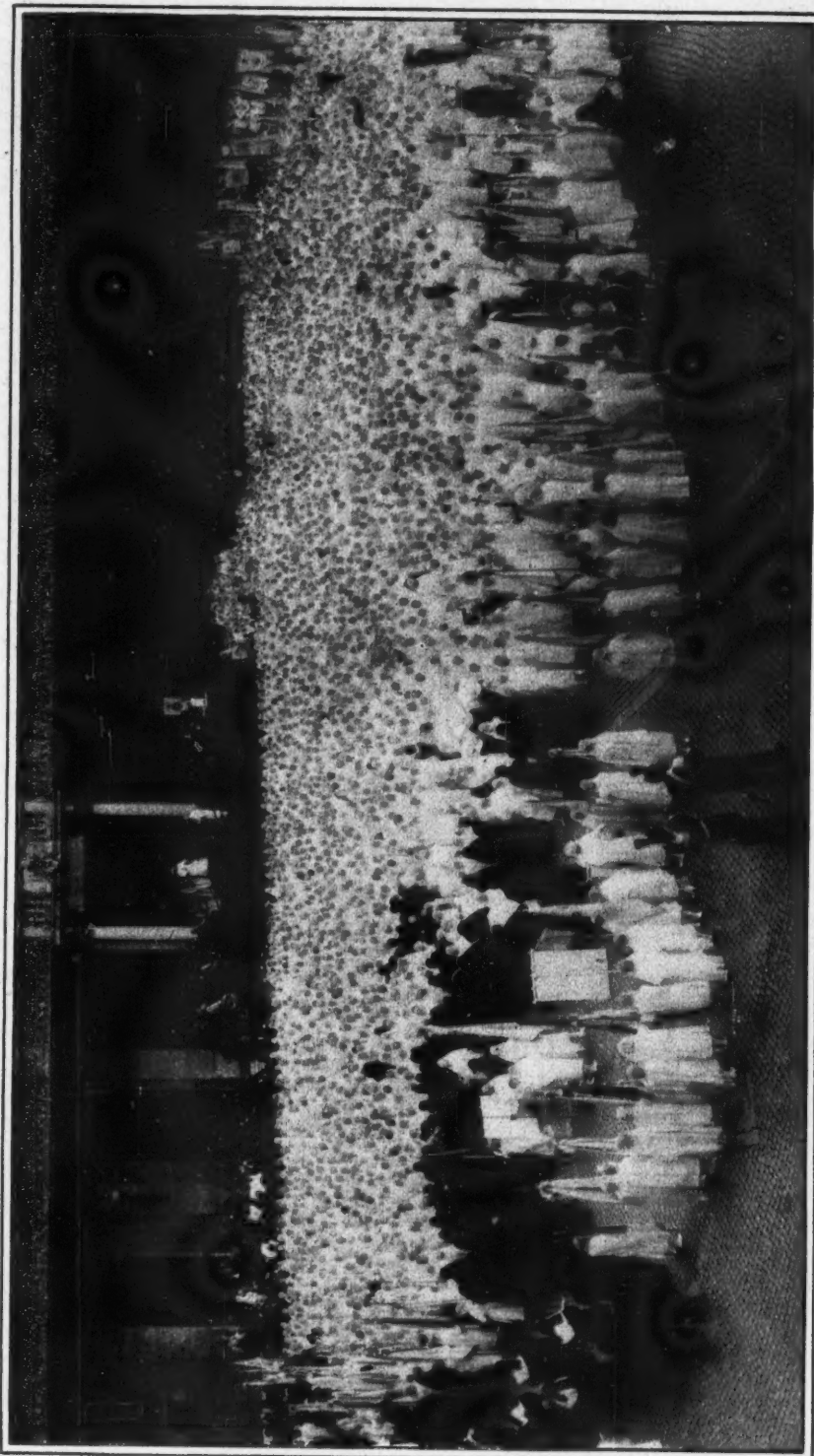
DR. C. E. K. MEES

Head of the research laboratories of the Eastman Kodak Company at Rochester, who has been in charge of the development of Kodacolor.

Times Wide
World



A BRILLIANT GATHERING AT THE VATICAN



THE POPE RECEIVES CATHOLIC WOMEN FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

Pius XI welcoming a huge assembly of delegates from the International Catholic Women's Association in the Courtyard of St. Peter's Basilica, the Vatican

Times Wide World

The Pope as Head of a Church Government

By ROBERT ESMONDE SENCOURT

AN ENGLISH STUDENT OF POLITICS AND RELIGION IN ITALY AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

AS one approaches St. Peter's in Rome and feels, with a thrill that may be pleasant or unpleasant, the spirit of the Counter-Reformation expressing in travertine and marble its immense force of energy and power, one reads on an obelisk in the centre of the scene: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*. Dominion, might and majesty the scene certainly suggests. But how many of us have thought before of this guise for Christ? High on the right, a triangle of yellow buildings around a square takes its place in the scene. There is the Vatican; there reigns the Pope, the man whom the Roman Catholic Church glorifies and whom she believes to be Christ's representative, endowed in a unique sense with authority and power.

The central significance of the Vatican is that, in spite of what any of us may think or wish, what is after all the most ancient and most universal form of Christianity, finds here among the traditions of St. Peter and St. Paul its centre, not only in the associations of a place, but also, and far more, in a patriarch who finally draws together the power of its scattered life and authority.

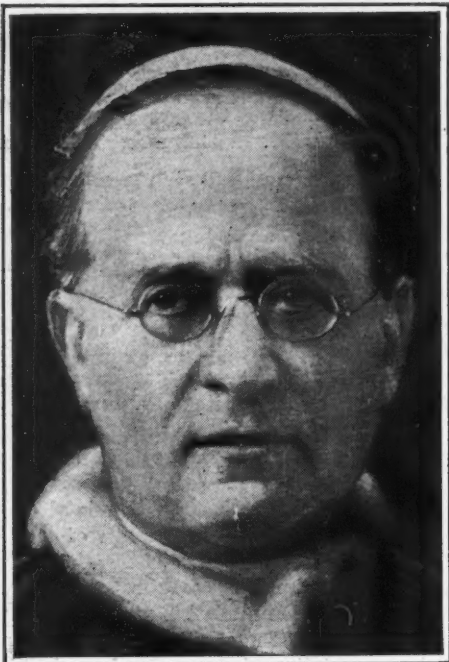
The Pope is the constituted authority of his Church; and against him evidently there is no redress but to leave it. He speaks as the efficient leader of his immense communion, the members of which believe it to be the one true visible organism of Christianity. The difference between the Vatican and another religious centre such as, for instance, that of the Church of England at Lambeth, is that it is older, that it is obviously international, and that, as seen by the attitude of Catholic believers, it is incomparably more authoritative, for the Catholics say, if one asks them, and perhaps sometimes without being asked, not that it derives its power from their support but that they derive their unity from it, and

that its authority is from above. Until this is understood one can know nothing of the Vatican. It is an institution which claims to link divine with human things. It is a secretariat which aims at exacting an influence which is moral and religious upon the life of earth. And it centres round the Pope as, at least nominally, its absolute authority.

The present Pope is a paternal and attractive figure. Though he is a little inclined to stoutness, his fair complexion and healthy color give no hint that he is already over 70. Born in 1857, the son of a silk weaver, he has now been reigning since Feb. 6, 1922, but the six years seem to have left no mark. He made his reputation as a scholar, and until nearly 60 lived in charge of two great libraries, now and again discovering to the world some hidden treasure of ancient learning. His vacations he spent as an Alpine climber. In 1919, however, when he was still Monsignor Ratti, he represented the Vatican in Poland.

He did one remarkable thing when he was elected Pope. He kept the staff at the Vatican unchanged. It was a particular mark of his link with his predecessor, whose work he came not to interrupt but to continue. He announced the object of his pontificate as "The Peace of Christ in the Reign of Christ." It was his conviction that, in exchanging the brutality of materialism for the ideals of the gospel, and by putting the spiritual above the impulses of the egoistic groups, and by these alone, the world would return from the war's aftermath of chaos and penury, to that wealth of life which is prosperity in this world and ensures inward lasting blessedness.

His particular moves have been to encourage France and Germany to be friendly, and he has faced criticism, especially among the die-hards in France, in taking decided steps toward this end. There is always a French Cardinal in Rome. Until last year



POPE PIUS XI

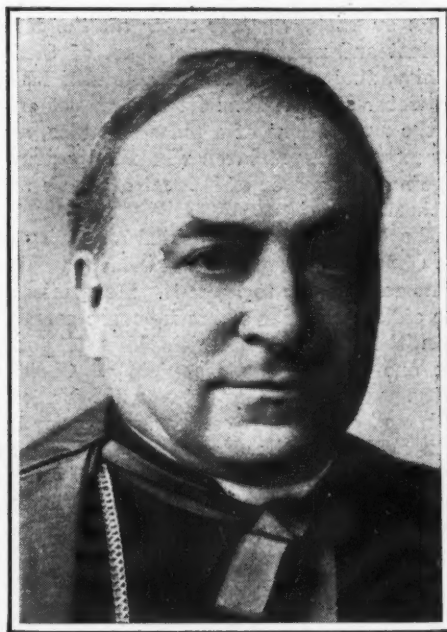
The former Cardinal Achille Ratti, who was elected Supreme Pontiff by the College of Cardinals in 1922

this Cardinal was the Jesuit, Billot. But when Billot, who had always been rather reactionary, was not sympathetic enough to the Pope's conciliatory policy, he had to resign, and his place was taken by a most charming and conciliatory person, Monsignor Lépicier, the General of the Servites, who had grown up in intimate connection with Leo XIII.

In the Holy Year the Pope continued his efforts for peace, which bore apparent fruit at Locarno, together with a great movement for unity. Yet it was his encyclical on unity, *Mortalium Animos*, issued at the beginning of 1928, after the Pope had been six years on his throne, which first made an unpleasant impression in the world at large. If one reads the whole document, however, in its original Latin, it is not quite what extracts and comments first made it sound like. It proposes Rome as the centre of unity, and said that there unity already exists, and that Papal authority depends upon the gospel and not upon acknowledgment from those who cannot ac-

cept the Catholic faith. It drew a sharp distinction between federation and corporate unity. All those things mean something remote, and, we must confess, distasteful, both to the great Orthodox communion as well as the many Protestant denominations. But the Pope was, after all, open and frank in pointing out the distinction between the Catholic Church and those movements toward human agreement which formulated valuable conclusions at Stockholm; at Lausanne, however, the results were more questionable; the triumph, said one of its enthusiasts, was not what they did, but that they should be there at all.

Rome, however, was not there. Why not? The absence was rather more noticeable than that of the other defaulting body, the British Baptists. A statement was called for. The impulse to make it uncompromising, however, came from neither the Mediterranean nor the East. The Vatican is a centre for remote advisers. Cardinal Mercier, in whom the Pope had, of course, the greatest confidence, had begun a movement toward Church unity which aimed at creating an atmosphere of mutual under-



CARDINAL PIETRO GASPARRI
Pontifical Secretary of State and Camerlengo of the Church

standing and sympathy as a preliminary. In England the movement had been severely criticized, and after the great Belgian's death Cardinal Bourne of Westminster had labored very actively in the opposite direction.

The two tendencies, which are both strong throughout the Catholic Church, are always tugging at its centre. One aims at diffusing Catholic influence to the utmost possible extent; and seeks to recommend it by all the claims of sympathy, of culture, of reason, of goodness; the other aims at concentrating it in all the definite and exclusive individuality of the Counter-Reformation. One aims at making it persuasive; the other never speaks of it as anything but uncompromising. One looks only for good outside it; the other only for evil. Is it to aim at being the religion of all sorts and conditions of men; or is it to be a disciplined power aiming only at developing the most singular of its characteristics?

With these questions, another is involved. It is a question that sums up them all—



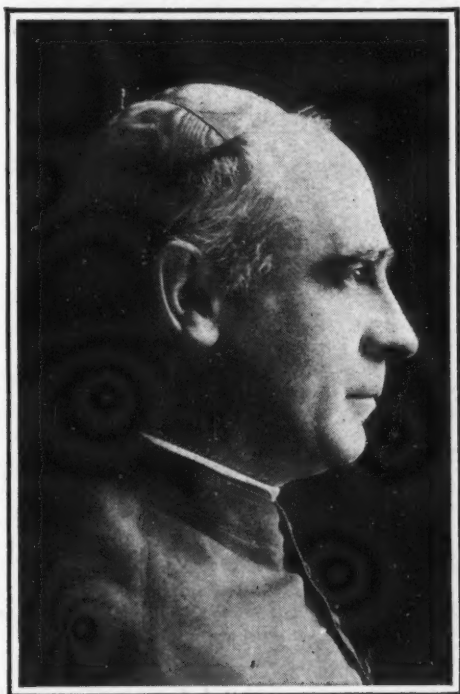
Harris & Ewing

CARDINAL BONAVENTURA CERRETTI

the tension between a sympathetic and luminous culture and the fanatical fervors of an exclusive piety. It is the play between these two tendencies which make what is known as intrigue, for there is always something personal mixed up with tendencies. This play of tendencies is made more tense because in the Catholic countries the actual Catholics are a minority, while Freemasons, modernists, rationalists and crowds who are absolutely indifferent threaten to drown them.

It is only in Protestant countries that Catholics as a whole really fulfil their obligations, and it is a fact that more practicing Catholics are Americans than belong to any other nation. If Americans have become interested in the Vatican, the Vatican lives upon America. To its upkeep France, Italy, Germany, Spain now contribute for various reasons very little. It is America which feeds it, and it is quite content to let well enough alone there.

The Vatican is an organization predominantly Italian, and Italy, not in its lower



CARDINAL RAFAEL MERRY del VAL
Secretary of the Congregation of the Holy
Office and Archbishop of the Vatican Basilica

classes but in its traditions of culture, is serene and suave. The two tendencies already mentioned, therefore, play tempered upon the Pope, and indeed they speak to his own mind and heart in louder tones than the two debating voices already there. This Pope, as we saw, is a cultivated scholar, but he has been all his life in the priestly class whose devotion is always concentrating around the Mass and the Madonna, whose mental habits are always being molded to the sacred formularies, and who know that around them thousands and millions are always lapsing into indifference. The Encyclical *Mortalium Animos* showed the Pope looking at the problem of unity from the point of view peculiarly Catholic, but an earlier encyclical on unity, *Ecclesiam Dei*, brought out in November, 1925, saw him putting the emphasis on the other side, on charity as something more prudent and wise than controversy, and on those methods of conciliation which can be employed and praised by those who are not, as by those who are, in communion with Rome.

Those who have been watching the Pope's utterances closely have a remarkable collection of conciliatory pronouncements at hand; they know, furthermore, that he ac-

tually founded a community called the Monks of Unity to work along conciliatory lines; and fitting *Mortalium Animos* into this frame, it made to them a very different picture from what aggressive people on either side have pretended to make out of it. Always, in these matters of the Vatican, one needs to have full information and to weigh it exactly. There are in the encyclical certain expressions that have been used before by Cardinal Bourne, as, in the earlier one, there are expressions which were favorites with Cardinal Mercier. This in itself explains something. But as we look closer at the Pope's letter, we see that the tone of each of the Cardinals has been modified, modified in the direction of the other. The Vatican is a very careful and conservative institution.

Nevertheless, changes do take place. Pius X, who was not a progressive, made a sweeping change some twenty years ago in a central matter by urging that Holy Communion should be free and frequent. Here he changed a discipline which Shorthouse in *John Inglesant* had pointed out as a chief reproach against the Roman system. Pius XI, the present Pope, has made a very decided repetition of Leo XIII's pronounce-



Ewing Galloway

St. Peter's, Rome, the largest Christian Church in the world, built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries



Publishers' Photo Service

The entrance to the Vatican, with the dome of St. Peter's in the background

ment in saying he has no wish to Latinize Eastern Christianity, "which bears within it veins of gold." He has made a remarkable move in appointing Chinese as Bishops, and in fact the Catholic Church has at last opened its eyes on the world as something far transcending the Roman Empire and Latin traditions, which, as Hilaire Belloc once pointed out, seemed for long to be co-terminous with the Catholic religion.

In the most splendid chamber of the Vatican, Aristotle and Plato, in a hall of Athens, face and complement the saints who assert the majesty of the Sacrament. So there is in the Vatican a wrench between the acceptance of nature and the assertion that the spiritual life aims at an end transcending and often contrary to the needs of nature. It is this which keeps occupied that complicated secretarial machinery to which one often refers as "The Vatican," but the more precise name of which is the Curia. It means first the Cardinals resident in Rome, each of whom sees the Pope once a week, and these are divided into Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests and

Cardinal Deacons. Honored by the title Eminence, and clothed in a cassock of purple, the Cardinals take precedence in Europe with royalty and are known as Princes of the Church.

VATICAN ADMINISTRATORS

By far the most important of the Cardinals is, of course, the Secretary of State who is a sort of Prime Minister in the Vatican. Cardinal Gasparri, who has held this position since 1914, is now 76 years of age. Genial and shrewd, he is a typical Italian diplomat, busy always in obtaining for his organization the freedom that it wants, and with his ear open to information from every quarter. But at a ring from the Pope, he will snatch up his purple cloak, and hurry out of his imposing rooms where an ebony crucifix stands out on crimson damask, rooms furnished with a sumptuous formality, to rush into the elevator and spring to the Pope's apartment above.

Next in importance to the office of the Secretary of State, which means all rela-

tions with the outside world, is the Holy Office. The Secretary of this is Cardinal Merry del Val. Formerly Secretary of State, which he was appointed while still a Monsignore and not quite 40 years of age, Cardinal Merry del Val ruled as second in command from 1903 to 1914. The son of a Spanish diplomat of Irish extraction (Merry is an Irish name), he is a brother of the Spanish Ambassador in London. From his early years, which were mostly spent in England, he was marked out for the highest offices of the Church. His perfect mastery of English, French, Spanish and Italian, his diplomatic training, his ample means, has striking personality, his delightful manners, and his deep piety perfectly suited him to be one of the leaders of the Catholic Church. He was, in fact, at the last election not far from being elected Pope. He was once the Papal representative, or Apostolic Delegate, in Canada. His knowledge of English affairs is most precise, and he told me in fact that he reads the *Times* of London every day. It is perhaps his English education which, in spite of his training in the world, is said to incline him to emphasize more the exclusive than the sympathetic side of the Vatican. None of this is shown in his talk, where his distinction and his thorough knowledge give an impression of remarkable sympathy. Like the Pope, the Cardinal is an Alpinist.

Cardinal Merry del Val's business as Secretary of the Holy Office is the discipline of the Church. It is to inquire into disputed cases of doctrine, and to be the ultimate authority, under the Pope, of order. An interesting innovation was lately made by which the Cardinal Secretary of State handed over to Cardinal Merry del Val all questions relating to the Church of England, for it was held that the position in England was so subtle that not the astutest Italian in the Vatican could understand it. The fear was that the Vatican might be misled by the advances of the High Church Party.

The Cardinal at present next in importance is Cardinal Cerretti, who was until a year or two ago Papal Nuncio in Paris. A friend and confidant of Gasparri, it is believed by most that he is destined to succeed him. He is an expert in Vatican diplomacy.

For the rest the offices of the Curia scattered over Rome are concerned with privileges and exemptions, with mission work, with theological studies, with biblical criticism (with an American Jesuit as Secretary), and with relations to non-Catholic Christendom. In each case their object is to have full cognizance of the facts and to take no steps which are not in accordance with tradition. In each case specialists combine into committees, with a Cardinal at the head; each department is so organized that it can deal carefully with that particular sphere of Catholic life which is its object, and bring it into relation with the Head.

Nominally the Pope is absolute, but in reality he is a constitutional monarch. He cannot act on impulse; his power is judicial rather than executive, and it is everywhere tempered not only by counselors but by tradition. He does not even choose whom he shall see. The Vatican is administered by two suzerains, the *Maggiordomo* and the *Maestro di Camera*, one of which orders the Vatican, and the other arranges audiences. And these *Monsignori*, as they are called, in company with some hundreds of men below the rank of Bishops, move around Rome in all sorts of positions. More often the term *Monsignore* is simply a title of honor, but it is held by all who under the Cardinals are in positions of authority in the complex organism of the Curia, including Archbishops and Bishops as well as lesser prelates and private chamberlains, which embraces an exchequer and a court of justice called the *Sacra Rota*.

The special functions, as they have already been sketched out, can be comprehended as tribunals, executive and secretarial functions, and special committees of which the most important are Cardinals' congregations, and of which the greatest meets with imposing ceremony in a consistory, generally held in the Sistine Chapel, when the Cardinals meet the Pope and do him homage, sometimes in the presence of the Roman nobility and of the Ambassadors and Ministers at the Papal Court.

CONTINUITY OF POLICY

Many of the names, and many of the institutions of the Curia are survivals of either the ancient time when the Roman

Church was the final arbiter in Western Christendom, or the time, passed forever since 1870, when the Vatican was a centre of temporal power. Although the Popes still protest against their equivocal position in relation to the Government of Italy, they realize that the Vatican is better off without extended territories, and they have adapted the ancient organizations of temporal government to the government of their far-flung Church. It is not the policy of the Vatican as a Catholic centre, as it would be of a temporal government, to originate executive acts. Its function is, as we have seen, rather judicial than executive; it is the centre, and a norm. There has never been a time when it made an unprovoked interference with other parts of Catholic Christendom. Its object nowadays is to recommend itself by showing to the outside world the benefits of its functioning. It influences by tact, not by menace; and it is forced to take cognizance of all sovereign rights. Cardinal Mercier told me in Rome a year before his death that all through the war he had never once been interfered with by Rome. The Pope, he said, was always there to support a weak Bishop; but never interfered with a strong one. This revelation takes us far into the secrets of the Vatican. Supported by principles which are uncompromising and allowing no interference with its judicial and doctrinal authority, it is very cautious not to risk rebuffs.

There are, of course, other reasons for its ancient power. Its range, if not universal, is wider far than any nationalism; it has an unbroken continuity with the past. In fact, in drawing upon the Middle Ages when they were occupied with the principle of a World Court, a centre of peace and law, the

Vatican has met one of the first needs of the present age. But, besides this, it is free from the mass appeals which make the Ministers of all party Governments insecure. "What are Ministers," Asquith once asked in the British Parliament as his Government was falling, "but transient and embarrassed phantoms, to be succeeded by other Ministers, perhaps not less transient and certainly not less embarrassed?" If there is a mystery about the Vatican, it is that its high places are not haunted by these transient and embarrassed phantoms. Apart from the unity of faith, most if not all of the secrets of the Vatican are just the continuity of its government and the fixity of its principles. The world is governed by deep instincts, not by huge conspiracies or societies of spies.

"The Holy See," said Count Sforza, once Italy's Foreign Minister, writing a year or two ago for *L'Esprit International*, "has been inspired by a thought which far surpasses the tactical interests of Governments and parties, which are always weakening themselves by grudges, fears and animosities. The source of the political knowledge of the Holy See and its control of diplomatic information are probably not that marvel of knowledge which outsiders please to imagine. If the Holy See often sees clearer, it is only because by its very condition it is more apt to neglect passing contingencies in its entire preoccupation with handing on to a future, near or remote, the sum of ideas and hopes of which a Pontiff is only the temporary guardian; and, at the very most, it can only try to harmonize those ideas and hopes with the deep currents of thought among people, apart from and above passing appearances."



Why the Protestant Church Is Dying

By COURTENAY HUGHES FENN

A MISSIONARY ON FURLOUGH IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

AN invitation to a dinner conference of the Men's Church League some months ago enclosed a reply postal and requested, in case of inability to attend the dinner that one return the postal with a brief intimation of one's opinion as to "What is the matter with the Church?" The present writer, though having strong and sober convictions on the subject, simply responded to the somewhat irreverent impulses of his "funny bone" and scribbled the following on the self-addressed post card:

1. Fatty degeneration of the heart (wealth, luxury and ease).
2. Pernicious anemia (lack of blood in theology and the fight with sin).
3. Cerebro-spinal meningitis (destruction of backbone and brain centre).
4. Cancer (unbelief in the supernatural).
5. Neuritis (super-sensitiveness to criticism and ridicule)."

Being in New York next day I was accosted by a neighbor with the remark that his paper reported "a great speech" I had made the night before. In response to my puzzled stare he brought forth a clipping from *The New York Times*, similar, I afterward learned, to items in several other papers, featuring my facetious remarks as a striking representation of sober facts.

The next issue of *The Literary Digest* quoted my remarks and their commendation by Church leaders. A note from the Department of Foreign Information of my own Board of Foreign Missions congratulated me on my diagnosis of the Church's condition and asked for "some more good things." Finally a telephone call from *The New York World* informed me that "poison pens" of some atheistic organization were widely circularizing the public with ribald misapplications of what I had written. In view of the wide publicity given my impulsive pronouncement and the nefarious misuse of it on both sides of the ocean, it

has been suggested that I owe the public and the Church what may be variously considered as either apology or a further service, namely, a clear statement of the motive behind my words and a fuller interpretation of the meaning of my diagnosis, for, impulsive and facetious as it was, it did have both a motive and a meaning.

The motive should have been clear from the parentheses, if not from the list of diseases. No unfriendly critic of the Christian Church would have indicated, as I did, not only a profound regret at the symptoms, but a conviction that, for the spiritual body, there are remedies available for diseases which in the physical body would be definitely prognosed as mortal. As a life-time member of the Christian Church, as an ordained minister for thirty-eight years and a foreign missionary for almost thirty-five years, I not only love the Church more than my own life, but regard it, in spite of all its infirmities and diseases, as by far the most active and potent agency for good in this modern world of ours. Were I called upon to answer the question "What is the matter with the world?" my reply would certainly be much more lurid than my diagnosis of the condition of the Church, which I regard as the most skillful of the world's physicians, simply advising it (including myself), "If thou wouldst heal the world's disease, physician, first heal thyself."

My high respect and warm love for the Church are based, first, upon her unique history of nearly 2,000 years, during which she has preserved in its purity the deposit of truth received by divine revelation, perfectly interpreted in the life of the Great Son of God and less perfectly in the ministries of apostles, martyrs and many other faithful witnesses, who have shone as lights in a dark world and proved themselves true members of the spiritual Body of which Christ is the Head. But my respect and love are also based upon what the Church

is, is doing at the present day, and gives promise of doing in the future. Though it be true that "little more than two-thirds of the 40,253 Protestant churches in the United States of America reported any conversions last year," yet there can be little question that most of the communities in which are located the 13,235 churches which reported no conversions, would have been far worse off, morally and spiritually, if those but dimly shining lights had been altogether quenched. Few people, Christians or non-Christians, either for their own sakes or the sake of their children, deliberately settle in a community where there is no church. The experiment has never resulted in individual or social betterment. The latest and most disastrous of all these experiments is now in full swing in Soviet Russia.

DESIRE TO AROUSE THE CHURCH

My "motive," therefore, was not to denounce the Church or predict its speedy demise, but simply, by terse, striking language (sensational, if you will) to arouse the Church to a clear realization of those dangerous weaknesses and corroding tendencies, which are, in our day, seriously hindering her accomplishment of her beneficent purposes toward the sin-sick and suffering world. It is not only impossible for the man "with a beam in his own eye" to pick out the "mote" from the eye of his brother; but even a considerable assortment of "motes" will rather effectually blind an eye for the delicate operation of picking much larger opacities from the eye of another. It is a truism that the greatest reason for the Church's slow progress in healing the world's disease is not the inherently mortal nature of that disease, nor the unfavorable climatic conditions which surround the patient, nor the lack of a specific remedy for the disease, nor limitations in the knowledge and skill of the physician; but the failure of that physician to live by his own rules, take his own medicine, and exhibit the self-forgetting devotion to his patient so general among medical and surgical practitioners.

The most striking fact disclosed in the "Anti-Christian Movement," active during the past few years in China, was that the opposition of the movement was not di-

rected against the life and character or teachings of Jesus Christ, or even against His exclusive claims, or those of His Church, to men's faith and allegiance, but against the failure of many members of that Church to live the life and exhibit the spirit of Him whom they acclaim as Saviour and Lord. Perhaps a chief reason for the present waning of that movement is the beautiful exhibition of Christianity given by most of the missionaries who have suffered peril and loss in recent ultra-Nationalist demonstrations, and have returned only forgiving and ministering love for the hatred and injury inflicted; an exhibition given also by hundreds of Christian Chinese, loyal to faith and friends through persecution, peril and even death. The Christian Church takes no part in the pessimistic prognostications of the freethinking, agnostic, atheistic or indifferent, on the occasion of such cataclysms as that of last year in China because of the repeated testimony of history that such times of testing manifest, more than times of peace, the unique and dynamic strength of the Christian faith for the transformation of character and the redemption of the world. What was true after the devastating catastrophe of the Boxer uprising of 1900 is already proving true since the distressing upheaval of 1927—namely, that there is less anti-foreign feeling in China today than two years ago, a more cordial welcome to the missionary and a greater readiness to hear the Christian message than ever before. One wonders whether our American immunity from such catastrophes is in any degree responsible for the American Church's large "immunity" from such blessings. It is so easy to be a "Christian" in America that we are seldom jogged or shaken into sober consideration of what loyalty implies and demands. Has the Church become so much a sanitarium for religious invalids that we no longer look at ourselves as robust and energetic, but from the viewpoint of those more infirm than we, and so give thanks that we are not quite so badly off as the world, instead of bestirring ourselves under the conviction that vigorous health is both the command and the promise of our Master?

The language of my "diagnosis" was, perhaps, sufficiently technical to lead many

readers to think me an "M. D." though sufficiently unprofessional to prevent such misunderstanding among the "M. D.'s" themselves. The form of the question propounded by the Men's Church League led me to reply in ostensibly medical language. My readers, therefore, will not expect technical accuracy in my interpretation of the "symptoms."

THE MILLION DOLLAR GENERATION

The first serious ailment of the Church which I mentioned was "fatty degeneration of the heart." Not only is a large proportion of America's richest men within the communicant membership of the Protestant Church; but the earthly possessions of church members average greater abundance than those of non-church members. If "the visible Church of Christ" were coterminous with "the Kingdom of God" it could hardly be said in our day, "how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God," for, in entering that church today the rich man is no "camel passing through a needle's eye," but rather the magnificently caparisoned and fiery steed, for whom is thrown wide his choice of the "twelve city gates," or the "man with a gold ring and in fine clothing," for whom the best seat is reserved and the most obsequious usher. The disciples of Jesus' own day, before Pentecost, thought it naturally and properly so, and were amazed, perhaps unconvinced, by Jesus' words of warning; but after Pentecost they were better able to estimate real values and to agree with Christ that "a man's life consists not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." In our "million-dollar generation" "the deceitfulness of riches" has again, as many times in history, insinuated itself into the subconsciousness of the Christian community, and the estimate of additions to the Church is too often based upon the size of the bank account and the rank in society, in utter forgetfulness of the astute words of Paul in First Corinthians, Chapters 1 and 2.

The grandeur and expensiveness of the church edifice and its organ, the superiority of the choir, the intellectual attainments and social prestige of the minister—these things often mean more to congregations than their own worshipful approach to God, devotion to his service, and lives of justice,

mercy and redemption in the community. But does not the princely giving which makes all these things possible indicate a willingness to part with earthly wealth for the Kingdom of God? It is not "princely" giving, for it devotes to sacred uses but a fraction of 1 per cent. of the huge incomes of our wealthy men; and it is not "giving," for its value is demanded in aesthetic satisfaction and the soothing of troubled consciences. Not that the money is sometimes "tainted" by the moral foulness of its source, or the method of its gaining, but, rather, as a Church leader once said, that "most of the Church's money is tainted—'tain't given!" Let the beneficiary of a subscription be in the next county instead of one's own immediate neighborhood where personal enjoyment or reputation is a reward, and the willingness to give "decreases inversely as the square of the distance." And when the need is in another country, the willingness to give disappears or is even replaced by a positive unwillingness to contribute any "good money" to making Christ known to men of another race.

Let me not be thought unappreciative of the fairly numerous and glorious exceptions to this rule, wealthy men who truly "possess their possessions," instead of being possessed by them, who realize their stewardship for all before God, and annually give away as much or more than they use for themselves and their families. The examples of such men relieve the dull drab of the Church's benevolent record, and they themselves find in it a joy the selfish never know. Many of this spirit there are among those with smaller incomes, who have joined the "Tithing Legion," and give far beyond the tithe when "fortune smiles." But there are tens of thousands of individuals, and thousands of entire churches which pass years without giving for any but local causes, and even fail to pay their pastor his promised meager salary.

Is the "fat" the trouble? No, it is simply fat in the wrong place. Heart fat produces degeneration of that most vital of all the organs. "Where the treasure is, there will the heart be also;" and conversely where the heart is, there will the treasure be also. If the heart be given to Christ and His Kingdom, all that one holds dear in life will be given to Him. If

the heart be given to self the treasure will lodge right there, producing a "fatty degeneration" which can have but one outcome. In untechnical language, the remedy is simple—let Christ set the fat to work in the many places which need it, and where it will not lead to degeneration but to building up. Then will the heart of the Church perform its normal functions, and the Kingdom of God will come in the manner for which the Church ostensibly prays.

SPIRITUAL ANAEMIA

The second disease from which I believe the Christian Church is suffering is "pernicious anaemia," a shortage or poor quality of blood in her veins. By this I mean lack of blood in her theology and in her fight against sin. She does not more than half believe what she preaches, and does not care enough about what she does believe to practice it when it demands exertion or sacrifice. Thousands recite the "Apostles' Creed" who seldom really think of God as either "Father" or "Almighty" in relation to themselves, seldom recognize Jesus Christ as His Divine Son, have any personal acquaintance with the Holy Ghost, or live in any apprehension of the judgment of the quick and the dead. More thousands repeat "The Lord's Prayer" at least once a week, and appear to consider their personal responsibility for the hallowing of God's name, the coming of His Kingdom and the doing of His will entirely met by that repetition, not thinking to forgive their debtors in recognition of divine forgiveness, or to resist temptation as a help to deliverance from evil. So far from "seeking first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness," they rank things spiritual last among all their pursuits. Not only have they "not yet resisted unto blood striving against sin," but almost any sin has become excusable to prevent the shedding of a drop of their blood. They readily repeat "the silver and the gold are Thine," but by their actions add "the portion placed in my hands I'll hold fast till death, and not foolishly risk even one-tenth of it in the visionary and hazardous enterprises of the Church." Though they know the time devoted on six days of the week to communion with God and the cultivation of the

spiritual life is exceedingly small, yet they begrudge God and their own souls the seventh day, set apart of God for the purpose, and avidly bestow this weekly leisure upon the Sunday paper, golf, tennis, the automobile, social amenities and frivolities.

It is not strange that those feeling so lightly their need of God should care little for differences of opinion as to His infinite personality, His holy hatred of sin, the nature of His atonement and the meaning of eternal life. For respectability and security they are in the Church as a semi-social, semi-protective club; but they are not "working at it" very much, and cannot be depended on for its upbuilding, its spiritual activities or its defense. They have a sort of faith in the Universal Fatherhood of "the Good God," but do not scruple to impose on His goodness to the limit. The poverty of their blood communicates itself to the whole circulation of the Church and is enough in itself to account for the reported lack of vitality and growth of the denominations. It is devoutly to be hoped that Christian biography may become as popular a remedy as the modern diet of liver to supply the deficient iron in the blood and restore the vigorous circulation of the Church.

DESTRUCTION OF BACKBONE

The third disease of the Church is "cerebro-spinal meningitis (destruction of backbone and brain centre)." The courage of the apostles and martyrs is not habitually seen today in the contact of the Church with the world; it is so much easier to yield than to fight, and the spirit of the age demands "peace at any price." In fashions, amusements, standards of education, ideals of life, Sabbath observance, social customs, thousands who call themselves Christians have conformed to the world and deprecate nothing more warmly than being a peculiar people, though the peculiarity expected of God's people is merely that of being "a people for God's own possession." So far from becoming more intellectual in response to the challenge of the world's self-styled "intelligentsia," they have completely surrendered their thinking to the *ipse dixit* of the self-same "intelligentsia" and have no longer a mind of their own, nor reverent attention

for the word of revelation at the basis of the Christianity they profess. Under this tutelage, scorning everything old as "fossilized tradition," they accept anything new as *ipso facto* true, and dread nothing so much as being found behind the times. The Church itself has a distinctly integrated spine in uninterrupted connection with the brain, the great Head of the Church, Himself "the Way and the Truth and the Life"; but many numbers of the members not only contribute nothing to the spinal functions, but are in imminent danger of paralyzing those functions yet further. A surgical operation for removal of diseased vertebrae may be indicated, though a serum of old-fashioned Faith often proves effective.

The fourth disease diagnosed is the most deadly of all, "cancer (unbelief in the supernatural)." An Almighty Father, a Divine Saviour, an Omnipresent Holy Spirit, a Holy Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting are the supernatural foundations on which the Church is established, and even the happy "communion of saints" constantly calls for supernatural grace. Any skepticism as to the supernatural, eats at the very vitals of the Church's life and if not checked will inevitably result in death. Yet our days have seen "Christians" advocating the theory of "a limited God," a Saviour who is merely "super-man," a "spiritual influence" from inheritance, association and education, a Church which is but a social fellowship, a forgiveness freely granted with no atonement or regeneration, a survival of the human spirit only in a very uninviting paradise little better than Nirvana. And as for the daily living of a supernatural life in a delightful communion of saints, they do not even dream of it, but seem to prefer a natural life in a very unharmonious communion of sinners, all of them snatching for life's largest plums with little regard for one another or for the interests of the Kingdom of God. Observation of this sort of thing under the name of the Church is responsible for many associations of atheists, agnostics, freethinkers, who convince themselves, as did certain greater thinkers before them, that there is no sincerity in

such a profession of faith and nothing enduring in the faith thus professed. The one saving factor in the situation is the fact that there is a spiritual radium, far more certain of a curative effect than the precious substance with which cancer specialists are hopefully but dubiously experimenting. That "Word of God," which is "living and active and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart," when applied by the Spirit of the Living God, does effectively kill the cancerous growth in the individual member, thus removing it from the Church; and the Church goes on in vigorous life in spite of the malignant threat.

The fifth disease is "neuritis (super-sensitiveness to criticism and ridicule)." As in the human body the various nerve systems all have their important and beneficent functions, yet all engage in mischief-making, mutual exacerbation when overstrained or developed to an excessive sensitiveness, so in the human spirit the various faculties and emotions all are constituted to work together in a beautiful, edifying harmony, yet all may yield themselves to a most unedifying sensitiveness and mutual strife, to the exceeding discomfort of the individual and to the destruction of the social cooperation of the community. That the soul at odds with itself can make no contribution to the harmony of the Christian Church should be self-evident. Yet many a professed Christian seems to expect every other Christian to be most considerate of all his feelings; and many more spend their days going about with oscillating chips on both shoulders, lest some offense or slight pass them by without receiving its due resentment. Not only is this nervous "touchiness" extended toward outsiders, but also toward fellow-Christians, to such a degree, indeed, that members of certain churches have not been on speaking terms with one another for years. The worst of it is that neither physically nor spiritually is any one ever disposed to take blame to himself for either chronic or acute nerve disorder; so that it is very difficult to secure that recognition of the source of the trouble

which is essential to its remedy, as set forth in ample detail in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians.

THE REMEDY

There may be some who, on reading the above presentment of the Church's condition, will be disposed to join *The Free-thinker* of London in commenting: "With all these diseases the Churches would seem stricken unto death. We suggest painless extinction would be an act of mercy for things so unhappily afflicted." But *The Free-thinker*, least sympathetic of all critics, has suggested the thing which, already in history, has intervened to prevent the apparently inevitable fatal outcome of this diseased condition of the Church, when that outcome was far more evidently imminent than it is at the present day. It asks "What's the starting price on that noble horse 'Revival of Religion'?" Doubtless the suggestion was ironical in its intention, but it is backed by history, and may be confidently looked to as the divine remedy for present pathological conditions in the Christian Church. That Church passed through a much longer and far more hopeless period of decline and decay in the Middle Ages, but came forth into tremendous vigor of a new life in the Reformation. It seemed again almost ready for its demise at the passing of the eighteenth century, but a great revival of religion came in response to the incessant prayers of the few faithful, and produced not only a mighty reaction to the well-nigh discarded faith, but such a move-

ment as the world has not witnessed since Christianity's earliest days toward the taking of the Gospel to the nations "sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death." That movement has been more responsible than any other influence for the intellectual enlightenment, the modern civilization and the moral and spiritual rebirth of these nations, and is at its greatest height today, in spite of its critics, its opponents, its unwise zealots and the temporary reactions of awakened nationalisms. The Church, which expresses in the offering of hundreds of millions of dollars and the lives of thousands of young men and women annually its sense of responsibility for the redemption of other peoples, and at the same time contributes a much greater sum to the support of its own houses and services of worship, Christian education and works and institutions of unselfish ministry to the needy, is a long, long way from mortal collapse. It never was more sadly conscious than today of the weaknesses and the diseases which are handicapping its effectiveness. The world of business and of pleasure never before gave more unmistakable signs of awakening to the realization that the only remedy for its own greater weaknesses and more mortal diseases lies in religion, and that religion the unique one of which Jesus Christ is both Founder and Centre. Better days are ahead for the Christian Church as it realizes that it possesses in potentiality all that the world needs for its transformation from an age of steel and steam and electricity into a truly Golden Age of truth and righteousness and peace.



Autobiography of Stephen Raditch

With an Introduction by

CHARLES A. BEARD

The unique document published herewith was handed to Professor Charles A. Beard, in Zagreb, Croatia, in March, 1928, by Stephen Raditch's daughter, under the circumstances described by Professor Beard at the end of his introduction. Written in indifferent, and at times even bad French, its interest and importance are incontestable. It is a record of one of the stormiest political careers of modern times. From a humble peasant home Raditch rose to a position of power in his own country as the founder of a peasant party which eventually was destined to participate in the Government and subsequently to form an Opposition Party representing a political force that could not be ignored.

In these pages Raditch tells of his early struggle to obtain an education, of the growth of his desire to help his ignorant and oppressed Croatian people, of his eternal battle with the police for championing the peasant cause, leading to many arrests and imprisonments, often to flight and exile, of his eventual rise from persecution and grinding poverty to a position of national and international importance. Raditch's recent assassination, as Professor Beard points out, lends a tragic interest to this autobiography.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY,

I—The Last Years of Stephen Raditch

By CHARLES A. BEARD

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF POLITICS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE death of Stephen Raditch in August, 1928, as the result of complications arising from a wound inflicted by an assassin in the Yugoslav Parliament, removed from the theatre of Balkan politics one of the most interesting figures in that peninsula of storms. What irony that he should perish at the hand of a South Slav brother, not a Hungarian police officer!

A son of Croatia and educated in the traditions of Croatian autonomy, Mr. Raditch early in his youth came into conflict with the Hungarian Government, then in control of his native province. More than once he collided with the authorities in Zagreb; many weary days did he spend in exile. And yet he was not a revolutionary advocate of Yugoslav unity at all costs—he called himself "the greatest of political acrobats"; on the contrary, he was rather, most of the time at least, an advocate of a triune system which would give Croatia

a position of autonomy akin to that enjoyed by Austria and Hungary under the Habsburg monarchy.

Unlike the other Croatian intellectuals, who took a similar view of affairs, Mr. Raditch appealed mainly to the peasants. Groaning under the burdens of landlordism, largely illiterate, and for the most part too poor to vote for members of the Croatian Diet under the existing suffrage law, these laborious tillers of the soil rallied enthusiastically around the one leader who understood them and championed them in the forum. They were not seriously disturbed by the agitations of the poets and dreamers in favor of a great South Slav State dominating the Balkans and making adventures in the grand style. Far from it. They were more interested in getting land for the landless, in easing the load of alien landlordism and in reducing Hungarian taxes, than in the projects of the young Slavs who frequented the cafés of Belgrade,

Zagreb and Sarajevo, and planned for "the great day of union."

When at last, in the Autumn of 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire crashed to earth, all schemes for a triune kingdom came to naught; events now pointed out some kind of a union as the destiny of the South Slavs. In the late Autumn of that year a revolutionary Assembly, known as the National Majority, composed of party leaders from the sections formerly subject to the Habsburgs, met in Zagreb to make momentous decisions. Stephen Raditch was among them. But he had little power over their deliberations, because the real strength of his Peasant Party was unknown. In the rush he was overborne in his fight for complete Croatian autonomy. Against his wishes a committee of the convention went to Belgrade in November and surrendered to the Serbian Nationalists, without first making sure of federalism. Its leaders, conservative men, felt that they could not wait; Italian troops were busy on the Dalmatian coast; peasants were sacking the castles of landlords; and the protection of the Serbian Army was needed.

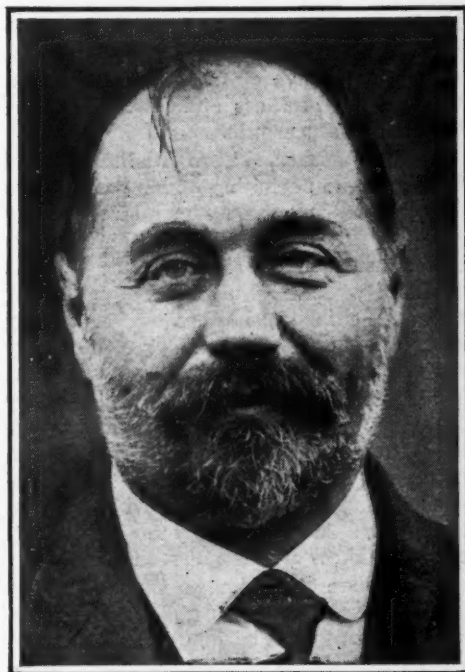
After two years of Provisional Government, elections were held for the convention to draft a Constitution for the United Kingdom. Although the Croatian Peasant Party, under Mr. Raditch's leadership, returned fifty members, it refused to take part in the manufacture of the new document. For five years more Mr. Raditch remained in the Opposition, spending a part of the time in prison. But convinced at last that this course was futile, he finally made a truce with the Belgrade authorities in 1925. Before many months passed he entered the Government as Minister of Education and remained there through various vicissitudes until the Spring of 1926, when in a Cabinet crisis he was retired temporarily to private life.

Despite this turn in his affairs Mr. Raditch remained at the head of the Croatian Peasant Party, and members of his organization continued to serve in the Cabinet until Feb. 1, 1927, when Slovene Clericals were substituted for Croats, sending the latter to the Opposition benches. Triumphant returned to Parliament in the elections of Sept. 11, 1927, Mr. Raditch, assisted by his nephew, Paul, and his former

enemy, Mr. Pribichevich, an Independent Democrat, took personal charge of the Croat Opposition in Belgrade and held practically all legislative business in a deadlock until he was laid low by the assassin's bullet in June, 1928.

RADITCH'S POLITICAL FAITH

In the course of an interview granted to the author of this note and Mr. George Radin of the New York Bar, last February, in Belgrade, Stephen Raditch expounded three fundamental articles of his political faith. "First of all," he said, "the unity of the Yugoslavs is permanently established"; then he pointed out that, owing to their relations to Italy, Hungary and Austria, the Croats were simply compelled to cling to the United Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. But, in the second place, Raditch laid great stress upon the historical and cultural differences of the several sections now composing the kingdom, and insisted that more autonomy must be granted in the interest of national harmony. Finally, he emphasized the necessity of settling the long-delayed questions of



Times Wide World

STEPHEN RADITCH

land reform and providing full compensation for property already expropriated, especially lands taken away from rich peasants whose accumulations represented years of toil and saving.

In response to a request for material bearing on his career, Mr. Raditch stated that he would arrange for us to secure it in Zagreb. Immediately on our arrival in that city, late in March, we hurried to his little bookshop on one of the crowded streets of the ancient Croatian capital and were fortunate enough to receive from his daughter, among other papers, the manuscript of his autobiography (written in French), which is here pre-

sented in English translation. Besides its value as a human document and a contribution to the story of Yugoslav political development, it possesses a tragic interest, now that its author has gone to his last sleep in Croatia, the land of his birth and his enduring love. No one can tell, either from it or from other records, whether Mr. Raditch, called a vacillating madman by his foes and worshipped as a hero by his followers, will become a great figure in death. Perhaps his historical stature will depend more upon the course of affairs in the Balkans than upon the work that he did there and the dramatic close of his troubled career.

II—The Story of My Political Life

By the Late STEPHEN RADITCH

(Translated by *Current History*)

I WAS born on June 11, 1871. I was the ninth child of a poor peasant's family, which lived at Trebarjevo, a village quite near, and lying on the right bank of the Sava. My parents had eleven children, eight of whom were still living not long ago, and five of whom survive today. Those of my brothers and sisters who are still alive are peasants.

My late father, Imbro Raditch, found himself at the beginning of his career with a family dependent on him and with only a hectare [2.47 acres] of land which he cultivated assiduously. Besides this he was a skillful wheelwright, and though he had so many children, he became in twenty years' time one of the most comfortably well-off peasants of his village. He sent all his children to a school in the near-by village of Martinskaves, although this village was three kilometers distant from Trebarjevo, and although this often imposed on him the burden of providing shoes, clothing and food, especially for the school, for three school children at a time.

The village has him to thank for the foundation of a peasant society, organized on the most modern basis, and not considering the importance of each member's farm, but rather the size of his family. Thanks

to this organization, it was found possible to purchase from Count Erdödy some 6,000 hectares of a forest that lay on the outskirts of the village. The peasants, divided into three classes, according to the number of their children, pledged themselves to contribute a fixed sum, payable over twenty years. My father paid his contribution regularly on St. George's and St. Michael's Day; the amount, in his case 24 florins, was quite a considerable sum in those days. Although he could neither read nor write, he was considered the man of the most outstanding intelligence of the village, and the man who was most capable in conducting the public affairs of this little community. He drank neither wine nor brandy, nor did he smoke. Not until his last years did he smoke, and this was because he had a mill on the Sava, and as a miller he had to smoke.

My mother, whose maiden name was Posilovich, was one of a large family, to the same branch of which the Archbishop of Zagreb, of the same name, belonged. She also was illiterate, but she was a woman of great intelligence and also of great courage. One day, while she was still a young woman, the Mayor of the village tried to strike her with a stick because she was late in

arriving to do her share in a piece of compulsory community labor. She tore the stick from his hands and broke it. For this she was condemned to nine days in jail, in accordance with a ministerial decree then in force. When she was released she went directly to the Governor and succeeded in having the Mayor dismissed. Later she went to Vienna to see Emperor Francis Joseph and persuaded him to pardon her eldest son, Andrew, father of Paul Raditch, the present Minister,¹ so that he might be able to support his family, which was a large one.

When the famous Prefect of Zagreb, Stefan Kovachevich, nicknamed Pishta Bachi, tried to start an uprising in our parish of Martinskaves, my mother publicly asked him about a dozen questions, which were so searching that he could find no answer, and stole away in his carriage ignominiously. She asked him also how he could have said in the Croatian Parliament that he had two countries, inasmuch as a man's country was his mother, and no man can have more than one mother.

EARLY LIFE

My School Life—My late brother Antony was three years older than me. He was born on June 11, 1868. It was said in our family that he resembled his father, not his mother. Our parents allowed him to attend school at Zagreb. Our mother obtained for him the patronage of the late Canon Rumpler. But they did not wish me to go to the lycée because of my extreme shortsightedness, with which I had been afflicted since my birth. But I persuaded my brother to help me find lodgings, and the Humanitarian Society provided dinners for me in the People's Kitchen. Besides this I helped myself by giving lessons to my little classmates, and so I found it possible to attend school regularly. I always received the highest grade in all my examinations, and my conduct was always rated as irreproachable.

Without asking for it I received the privilege of entering the college of the Zagreb Archbishopric, where I was admitted to the second class. There I clashed with the mon-

itor, who compelled the boys to shine his shoes, and when I told him that he ought to ask us politely to do him this service he slapped my face, and I returned his slap. The investigation that followed this incident proved that it was I who had been in the right, and the monitor was dismissed by Rector Krapac, who became Bishop of Djakovo a few years later. But at the close of the school year they sent me away from the lycée (temporarily) under the pretext that I was so nearsighted that I was destined to lose my sight in two or three years.

From my third class on I was financially independent, thanks to the lessons I gave my classmates. In my fourth class I had another conflict with one of the teachers, whose brutal treatment of the pupils was notorious. As the head of my class I considered it my duty to defend my comrades. The director pronounced me to be in the right, but at the same time advised me to leave the College of Zagreb. Thus I entered the fourth class at Rakovac, near Karlovac, where I suffered greatly at first, having no friends nor any possibilities of giving lessons.

My First Travels to Learn to Know the People—During the Summer vacation of 1886, after finishing my third class, I undertook alone my first student tour from Zagreb to Koprivnica, and then through the Drava and Danube Valleys to Zemun and Belgrade, and through the plain of the Sava returning to Sisak, the governmental district to which my native village belongs. I left Zagreb with about 2 francs in my pocket, and I returned with around 64 francs, although I had asked no help from any one. The rector of the high school of Belgrade, now the university, forced me to accept 10 dinars, and the Orthodox priests in Eastern Croatia were as hospitable to me as the Catholic priests. I wrote my travel-diary regularly, describing particularly what the people thought of officials, of government, the economic position of the peasants in one Department or another, the organization and value of the schools, state of the roads, and so on.

A MOMENTOUS DECISION

It was then that I decided never to be an official, but to devote myself entirely to defending the rights of the people and to

¹Assassinated in the Belgrade Parliament by a Yugoslav Deputy on June 20, 1928, on the same occasion when Stephen Raditch received the wounds which eventually caused his death.
—EDITOR.

their education. My father did not oppose my plans and my mother was delighted with them. She predicted that I would often be arrested, but this she did not mind, preferring it to my being either a lawyer or a priest, for, she said, lawyers must plead that falsehood is truth and truth falsehood, and the pocket of priests has no bottom. During the Summer vacation after my fourth class I could not travel, the Director having held back my diploma because my roommate had not paid his share of the rent. I was so annoyed by this that I asked the Director of the Zagreb Lycée to admit me to the fifth class of his institution, for the Zagreb Lycée, in comparison with that of Rakovac, was a real university.

Subsequent Travels—After the fifth class I traveled through Styria, Corinthia, Carniol and the old Austrian littoral. Finally I returned home from Triest by way of Istria and the Croatian littoral. At Ljubljana (Laibach) I visited the then Bishop, Mgr. Misia; at Goritz, Archbishop Zorn, and at Triest M. Mandich, Governor of Istrian Croatia. While traveling through the Vipava Valley I visited at Gradishka the famous Slovene poet, Simon Gregorich, who was delighted when I declaimed from memory some of his poems, and particularly his wonderful poem called "The House of Peasants."

In the sixth class we counted, all told, more than seventy pupils. The teachers were in despair when they saw how many we were. They did not even have time to get to know us, much less to examine us. I then proposed to the teachers to organize the instruction in such a way as to allow the strongest students to teach the weakest. The former then brought to the teachers at every lesson as many weak pupils as the teachers themselves deemed practicable to examine. In this way the teachers would not be compelled to examine at random those pupils whom they considered weakest, and who usually stammered and halted in their replies. The teachers thus would have all their time for real instruction and examination. Those pupils who had fallen far behind in their studies would voluntarily attend the Thursday and Sunday classes. My proposal was accepted, and the success of this reorganization was so great that thirty-six of us were graduated with distinction;

seventeen received excellent grades in all subjects and not one a low mark. Even the weakest had good marks. And furthermore the deportment of our class was exemplary.

THE FIRST ARREST

My First Demonstration and Arrest—Toward the middle of April the *Ban*,² at this time Count Khuen-Hedervary, issued a decree suppressing the Croatian opera. I was very indignant over this, and I decided to make a public protest against this decision. I could easily have convinced my whole class of the need of making a vigorous demonstration, but I hesitated to urge my comrades to commit an action which I knew might have unpleasant consequences for them.

On April 13 the opera *Nikola Zrinjski* was being played for the last time. The libretto was by the poet Hugo Badalich. I knew that in a passage of the third act the Pasha Sokolovich offered Zrinjski, in the name of the Sultan, the crown of Croatia if he would surrender the fortress to the Turks. Zrinjski replied: "The Croats need no King, for the *Ban* is King to the Croats." I took advantage of this scene to shout three times: "Glory to Zrinjski; down with the tyrant Hedervary!" I was arrested. When I was questioned at the police station I was told that I would be released if I expressed regret at my action, or if I declared that I had uttered the cries in a moment of excitement. I replied that I had made this demonstration with full deliberateness and in the deep conviction that Hedervary was really a tyrant, and that he was unworthy of occupying the historic seat of the *Ban* of Zrinjski and Jelachich. On the third day of my imprisonment the police tried by violent threats of long imprisonment to make me repudiate in writing the words I had shouted in the theatre. They told me that I would be severely punished; that I would be forbidden to attend the lycée, and that I would be expelled from Zagreb. I absolutely refused to do what they demanded; and yet I was not delivered over to the courts, and I heard Count Khuen himself intervening in my favor over the telephone.

My First Journey to Russia—I was not

²The Hungarian Governor, appointed from Budapest.—EDITOR.

expelled from the lycée because one of my teachers, Mr. Georges Arnold, advised me to leave of my own accord, adding that I would receive a diploma attesting that I was an excellent pupil, so that the teaching board would not have to expel me. I followed this advice and decided to go to Bishop Stros Mayer at Djakovo, on foot of course, and ask him to give me a letter of recommendation to some one in Russia. I traveled through the Moslavina and the Poga Valley and through the Krndija. Stros Mayer received me in a very friendly way, but said that any recommendation from him would do me more harm than good. He did give me, however, a very warm letter of recommendation to the Serbian Metropolitan Michael at Belgrade, who had just returned from Kiev, where he had been exiled by King Milan and where he had been living for many years. Metropolitan Michael received me very cordially and gave me a short but cordial letter of recommendation to Professor Rakhmaninov of the University of Kiev, who was at that time President of a Slav charity society. He gave me 10 dinars, explaining that he was poor; and he severely condemned all Serbs who were then Magyarophiles, in general, and above all the Orthodox priests. We talked about the political situation for more than two hours. Before my departure he gave me his blessing and kissed me affectionately, wishing me the greatest success in Russia. What pleased him most was my resolution not to continue my studies at a Russian lycée. I decided also not to take up advanced studies at a Russian university, for I was happy and proud that we had a university—we Croats—and it was for that reason that I wanted above all to finish my studies—with God's help—at Zagreb. I contemplated traveling widely afterward when I reached manhood. I dreamed above all of visiting Russia.

I learned to speak Russian perfectly in Kiev and then returned to Zagreb, where I entered the seventh class at the college. During that time I was watched by the police, who believed that they had found in me a Russian military spy.

EXILED TO NATIVE VILLAGE

While in the sixth class I established in cooperation with several of my fellow-

students a reading room, for which we subscribed to all the literary reviews of the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. The most important Serbian reviews were *Brankovo Kolo*, *Bosanska Vila* and *Stragilovo*. We took also the Russian literary review *Njiva* (The Fields), and I taught Russian to nearly all my fellow-students. Aside from the class, we met often on Thursdays and Sundays in our reading room to tutor the weakest among our group in mathematics, physics and languages. The Faculty began to suspect that we were discussing politics at these meetings, and, without warning, the director, M. Divkovich, said to me in class: "Since this class is organized without political aspects, I demand that you leave the college at once. Whoever cares to follow you may leave with you." After hearing these words I turned to my classmates and said to them: "You will have an opportunity to follow me later on; or, still better, to act according to your convictions. For the present it is better for me to go alone."

Some days later the police arrested me during the night and took me to the hospital of the Brothers of the Misericordia, where they placed me in the ward for melancholia observation. News of this got about in Zagreb and a professor of the university, François Markovitch, intervened for me with the former Mayor, M. Amrousch. He insisted that I be given my freedom and said that if the doctors, Dr. Sladovich, Dr. Markovich and Dr. Chvruga, wished to find me insane they must do so on their own responsibility. I was released from the hospital on the eighth day and from there I was hurried away, accompanied by the police, back to my native village.

I remained at home nearly a year. I took part in the work in the fields. I tended the horses in the forest. My comrades were only peasants. They began to tease me and to try to find a sweetheart for me, as is the custom in our village when a young man approaches his twentieth year. But as for me, I worked untiringly in the hope of finishing my college course and, thanks to the intervention of my friends, the police of Zagreb in the Fall of 1890 promised not to disturb my plans until I had secured my diploma. My friend and

classmate, Stanko Hondl, now professor in the university, taught me on a big blackboard in a tiny garret during many a long hour the principles of physics and mathematics, and another of my comrades, who also is now professor in the university, Jean Maourovich, read Horace and Sophocles to me. Before passing my examinations for the bachelor's degree as a day scholar, I had to undergo a severe test in which I had to know and translate perfectly the works of these two poets. I secured my degree at the modern college in 1891 at Rakovac, although I had made the classics my particular study.

Immediately after my examination I left for Dalmatia with my diploma. I walked through the whole of Dalmatia from Obrovac in the North to Metkovich. From Metkovich I went to Mostar. Here some Serbs before whom I had spoken enthusiastically of an economic and ethnographic exposition held at Zagreb, denounced me to the authorities, accusing me of conducting Croatian propaganda in Bosnia. The police arrested me and expelled me from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Escorted by the police, I went by steamer to Fiume. I then walked through the whole Croatian littoral, also though all the mountainous sections between the sea and the valley of the Sava. I returned to the university with my mind teeming with vivid impressions of the life of the people.

My First Political School—These impressions influenced me so greatly that I definitely decided to prepare and devote myself to public life and I requested certain of the cleverest politicians of the time—the late M. Rachki, M. Smichiklas, M. Bres-tiyensky, M. Boroeh and M. Amrouch—to permit me to lunch with them once a week so that I might keep in touch with the most important events of recent political history, which at that time was still not discussed in print.

In my conversations with M. Rachki, above all, I learned many important things about the creation of the Croat-Hungarian compact, and about all our relations with Vienna and Budapest. I repeated all I heard almost daily at our [viz, student] meetings. In this way a large number of students at the university received most important political instruction, and they

were delighted with this addition to their studies. With regard to our meetings we adopted the following resolutions:

1—Those students who are the most ardent and most race-conscious Croats, shall attend regularly all the university courses, and shall pass their examinations with high grades as quickly as possible.

2—They shall not demonstrate in favor of any party, less still shall they make any disturbance in the streets and coffee houses; but they shall prepare themselves for political life by serious study in the university library, by mutual discussions and by establishing contact with the people in order to learn to know them better.

At this time seventeen Dalmatians and four Bosnians, joined by a few apprentices, organized a demonstration against the university Professor, M. Smichiklas (a Serbophile). Under his windows on Mesnichka Street they sang the song: "Cursed Be the Betrayer of His Country!" The former leader of the Right Party (a Serbophobe) wrote an article saying that hundreds of students headed this demonstration, attended by several thousands of Zagreb citizens. For this reason our club published in the paper *Obzor*, a statement signed by seventy-two students, severely condemning the demonstration against Smichiklas, and declaring that the students should demonstrate in the public streets only when they were forced to demonstrate against the alien Government, which was becoming more and more tyrannical.

Because of these last words, steps were taken at the university against all the signatories of the resolution, and scholarship students were threatened with the withdrawal of the scholarships which they were receiving from the State. In reply to these threats, fourteen more students signed the manifesto, and the eighty-six signers, all told, must be considered as the nucleus of the group which shortly afterward burned the Hungarian flag on Oct. 16, 1895. [After this act, these militants moved the headquarters of their organization to Prague, and from this group issued the men of our generation who are today at the head of the intellectual and political life of the Croat people.]

During the long vacation before my entrance into the second class of the university, I visited Southern Germany, particularly Bavaria and Würtemberg. I lived for several weeks in Munich, where I

devoted myself to quite a thorough study of the most notable artistic productions and of the extraordinary political relations between Bavaria and Prussia.

THE FIRST IMPRISONMENT

My first appearance in court for political causes, and my first sentence—On July 23, 1893, my comrade, Jean Kovachevich, and I were sent to Sisak as delegates of the university to the third centenary of the victory of *Ban* Tomo Bakach over the Turks, which occurred on July 23, 1593. It was decided that no toast would be proposed to the authorities. But Mayor Fabac, who was a violent Maryarphil, violated this decision by proposing a toast to the *Ban* then in power, Count Khuen-Hedervary. I protested vigorously against this action, stressing the facts: "We are celebrating the third centenary of the victory of the Croat *Ban*, not the tenth anniversary of the barbarous tyranny of a Magyar Hussar who gave himself this title in Parliament and who was proud of it."

Because of this declaration, I was sentenced to Petrinja, in the Autumn of 1893, for four months of imprisonment with hard labor. I refused to appeal and went immediately to prison. In prison I learned the Czech language, and when I was freed, I went to Prague, where my most eminent professors, the eminent jurists, M. Randa, M. Braf and M. Cuker, were living. M. Braf took a liking to me, and from him I learned many things, for he had been the son-in-law of M. Rieger, the famous statesman, who, it was said, held the whole political history of the Czechs in his hand.

From Prague to the burninig of the Hungarian flag—I taught Russian and Croatian at Prague in the "Slavia" Academy with considerable success, and established friendly relations with almost all the present leaders of the Czech nation, some of whom have since died. My friendship with M. Rachin, especially, who later became Finance Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic, and who, as the result of his strong character, was the victim of a homicidal attack, was extremely cordial. During the Christmas and Easter vacations I did not return home, but went to visit Czech families outside of Prague. At the end of the academic year 1894, during an excursion,

I made the acquaintance of my future wife who, at this time, was finishing her studies at the Normal School to become a teacher. [We were married at Prague in the Autumn of 1898.]

I passed the vacations of 1894 as a tutor in the house of Count Thomas Erdödy at Chtakorovatz near Dugoselo, preparing him for the first examination of the Croatian University. I succeeded in establishing the custom of speaking Croatian at table while I was there, and persuaded the Count to obtain several hundred books in Croatian on legal, economic and literary subjects. The naïf astonishment of the Count and the Countess when the Count received these Croatian books elegantly bound, and when I told them that these represented but a tenth part of our Croatian literature, constituting a veritable historical monument, was almost indescribable.

I had but little to do in the Count's household, and I had much leisure time, which I devoted exclusively to study of the Czech language, in which I was the more interested because I wrote daily to the lady whom I now considered my fiancée, long letters and summaries of my lectures. After a few months I began to write to her in Croatian, with explanations in Czech, and finally I used only Croatian written in Slavic characters, so that she might learn the Russian language more easily.

In the Autumn of 1895, on Oct. 16, the students of the university [the Zagreb University, where Raditch had resumed his studies] almost under the eyes of Emperor Francis Joseph burned the Hungarian flag. While my comrades were busy burning the flag, some holding it, others wetting it with alcohol and some others finally burning it, I undertook the self-imposed task of interviewing the Chief of Police of Zagreb, to show him that by virtue of the Croatian-Hungarian entente, the Hungarian flag ought not to be on Croatian territory, and that we were burning it as a protest against the illegal Magyar supremacy and not to offend the Magyar nation. I explained to the Chief of Police that it was for this reason that the flag had been dipped in alcohol so that it might burn quickly without leaving any disagreeable odor. Several students proposed that the flag be dipped in oil, but the proposal was rejected in order to avoid

the accusation that the manifestation had an offensive character.

My version of the incident made the Chief of Police so angry that I almost had to hold him back by main force. Thanks to my action, my colleagues were able to return freely to the university, while the police could arrest me as the leading spirit of the demonstration.

Meanwhile, the late Lacko Vidrich, who, because he was the handsomest boy among us, had been deputed to bear the famous Croatian flag of the university of 1848, under which the Magyar flag was burned, on his return from this manifestation organized a meeting, at which it was decided, amidst scenes of indescribable enthusiasm, that the entire assembly should go and declare to the police that the demonstrators were all my accomplices.

EFFECT OF THE DEMONSTRATION

But the police drove the majority of the students roughly out of the police court. Those who remained were asked: "Did you take part in the burning of the flag by impulse or by conviction?" Those who replied "by impulse" were thrown out, for the police were determined to diminish the importance of this manifestation. Those who replied "by conviction" were imprisoned. Of these there were about fifty. But despite this fact, the Hungarian Government stated in the press that twenty-three students only had taken part in this manifestation, allegedly condemned by the vast majority of the young student body. Francis Joseph himself, in his thanks to the City of Zagreb, described our action as reprehensible, and we were threatened with many years of imprisonment. Nevertheless we were sentenced only to a punishment of from two to six months. But the political historians of the world recorded the fact that Croatia was so dissatisfied with her relations with Hungary that the youth of the university had expressed their discontent by the burning of the Hungarian flag in the presence of the Emperor himself.

The news of our conviction and sentence was published on Nov. 19, 1895. We were sent at once to prison and before Christmas we were removed to the Departmental House of Detention of Bjelovar in order, as the Director, M. Herrenheiser explained

to us, to prepare for us an "honorable status of imprisonment" (*custodia honesta*). The whole first floor of the prison was reconstructed and made into bedchambers, and the large hall into a study room during the day. I profited by this opportunity to teach Czech to my comrades, as we had all agreed to go to the Prague University after our release. Because of this, the authorities separated me from my comrades and placed me among the prisoners sentenced for common law crimes. They forbade me to receive food from outside. All this was very illegal. Fortunately some of my comrades were sentenced to only four months' imprisonment, so that on March 17 I found myself again alone and back again on the first floor, with almost the whole library of the Minister of Justice at Zagreb, which M. Herrenheiser had had transported for my comrades, at my disposal. Among the law books then very much in use there was a remarkable work on Russia in three volumes translated into German under the title *Das Reich der Zaren und die Russen* (The Empire of the Czars and the Russians). The author was M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, who is [was] perhaps the most profound Russian scholar of the time and who subsequently became my teacher in Paris. During the two last months of my imprisonment they allowed me to have a drum.

My Second Visit to Russia and How Love Saved My Life—On May 19, 1896, I was taken from Bjelovar to my native commune under a strong police escort. The gendarmes delivered me over to the Department Prefect, who set me free only on my arrival within the limits of the commune. Next day, to my great surprise, two ladies elegantly dressed in black and wearing gloves drove up to see me in carriages. They introduced themselves as the mother-in-law and the wife of the Chief Justice of Zagreb, Rakodozay, who had inflicted on us so harsh a penalty for the flag demonstration. The two ladies declared that they had heard I wished to go to Russia and said they knew I was innocent and persecuted, and they gave me a loan of 300 florins to pay my traveling expenses. I also received 100 florins from a society organized to assist students financially.

I reached Moscow at the beginning of

June, 1896. On the insistence of some ladies of Zagreb I had decided to be in Moscow at the time of the coronation of Czar Nicholas II, which was to take place on May 30, 1896. He was to be crowned at the Hodin Fields and a souvenir was promised to all who witnessed the ceremony. The souvenirs were to be a pitcher, a saucer and an artistically embroidered handkerchief. I had promised these ladies to bring each of them one of these imperial gifts and wished to keep my promise. But on my way to the coronation I broke my trip in order to visit my fiancée, who was then a teacher in Eastern Moravia in a village situated amid the mountains. Thanks to this, I reached the coronation ceremonies late, to learn that about 10,000 people had been killed there in a terrible accident, most of them buried alive, while an even larger number had been grievously wounded. So I can say that my love for my fiancée saved my life.

THE VISIT TO MOSCOW

At Moscow I lived in the house of a Polish patriot named Chrzanowsky, who came from Vilna [then a part of Russia]. I taught Russian to my host's younger son, who had failed in his Russian examination for the sixth class as the result of his ardent patriotism, which had brought him to the unwise decision not to learn the Russian language. I succeeded in persuading him that the Russian language and literature had nothing in common with the oppression of Poland by the Czaristic Government and that his duty as a Polish patriot was, on the contrary, to acquire a thorough knowledge of both. My host's eldest son was of about my own age and we soon became fast friends.

I remained in Moscow for five months. Hearing that the Minister of Public Instruction had arrived there, I went to see him personally and asked him to allow me to enroll at the university as a special student. He first replied severely that by rights I should not be at the university but in Siberia, but after he heard all I had to say he wrote an order allowing me to enroll at the university. But I could not take advantage of this favor, for the reason that the curriculum was so arranged that I would have had to stay in Moscow

for several years to finish my law studies and this, because of lack of money and time, was impossible.

At the School of Political Sciences at Paris—I had already been excluded from the University of Zagreb on account of the episode at Sisak, when I had protested against the toast in honor of Ban Heder-vary. I had also been excluded from the University of Prague in the Autumn of 1894 because of a conflict with the Police Commissary, who had dispersed a student meeting on the ground that the students had applauded the orator too enthusiastically. At the same time I was expelled from all the countries represented in the Vienna Parliament (17 provinces of old Austria). I had enrolled in the University of Budapest in January, 1896. I had learned Hungarian so well that I was able to follow the courses; but at that time³ the Hungarian flag had been burned under my inspiration and on this account I was also excluded from the Budapest University.

Furtunately enough, I had already learned in Moscow that there existed in Paris a Free School of Political Sciences which had been founded in 1871. I received its curriculum and saw at once that it contained everything I needed to finish my university studies. So I left for Prague, where I had to stay in hiding for six weeks, and where, with a small group of Croatian comrades, I made all necessary preparations for the publication of a monthly review called *Croatian Thought* (*Hrvatska Misao*). I wrote almost all the articles for it and here for the first time I expressed all my political and social ideas. I also devoted many pages to the works of the famous Russian professor and historian, Karieliev, who was working actively to provide the young generation of Russia with a study plan with which they could themselves fill in all the lacunae of the secondary and university courses which they needed. Hence I translated and published in *Croatian Thought* six letters of this professor explaining how the young people of Russia could learn by self-study all the modern ideas about the world and life.

Although I went to Paris at the end of

³An apparent error of date; the Hungarian flag was burned on Oct. 16, 1895.—EDITOR.

January I could not enroll in the Political School until the Autumn of this year, because the enrolment fee was 180 francs and I had only 57 francs in my pocket when I reached Paris. But my Prague and Zagreb comrades aided me. I passed the 1927 vacations at Lausanne, where many courses on the French language and literature are given even during the vacation period, and I was also able at the same time to study the political situation in Switzerland and to perfect my knowledge of spoken French.

I finished the first semester at the Ecole Politique in June, 1898, with great distinction. I chose the general section, the main subjects of which were diplomatic history, comparative civil law and finance. I also chose nine other subjects, including the Russian and German languages.

MARRIED IN PRAGUE

I learned at this time that my fiancée had become a teacher in Prague, her native city. I was afraid that she would be too weak to resist the influence of her whole family and all her friends who reproached me for what they called my Bohemian life, and I therefore decided to marry her immediately. I advised her to resign her teaching post which she had now held for four years. When I received her definite consent, I hastened to Prague, and we were married there on Sept. 23, 1898. After this, I left Prague, and travelling by way of Krakow, Lwow and Russia, beneath the Carpathians of today, I reached Trebarjevo, my native village. But I noted a complete change in the attitude of my comrades, and even of my family, due to my having married without having either any position or any money. They were all afraid that I would fall back on them for support, and some of them even broke off all relations with me. I lived in poverty in my village for fully four months, and I finally became convinced that all my political career would be held up unless I finished my university studies. "They will all forget," I thought, "that I have been excluded from all the universities of the Monarchy, and that I had no money to go abroad, and they will think my failure was due merely to neglect."

With much difficulty I succeeded in getting together the sum of 300 francs, with a "white-seal," [signature in blank] of course.

I thus arrived for the second time at Paris, this time with my wife. To this fact alone I owed the possibility of being able to write my thesis and to prepare for my examination in five months, during which time we often had to pass whole days without eating. The title of my thesis was, "Croatia of Today and the Southern Slavs." I was busy with my courses the whole day, so that I was obliged to dictate my thesis till the late hours of the night.

The eminent French Professor, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, was assigned the duty of estimating the value of my work, and he found it so good that in May, 1899, he reported that it was not only wholly original, but also a learned political study. Thanks to this judgment it was recopied by a number of eminent French statesmen, among others by the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Paul Deschanel, who later became President of the French Republic. Some of these gentlemen, who knew how poor I was, gave me a financial recompense for the work, and the Ecole Politique, on the basis of the thesis, and of my oral and written examinations conferred on me a diploma, declaring me "Lauréat des Sciences Politiques," that is, a scholar of political science crowned with laurels. Moreover, I received a whole political library composed of the works of the best French writers.

EXPULSED FROM PRAGUE

A year of work at Prague, and a year and a half at Zemun—I returned from Paris to Prague in July, 1899. I did not believe that the Prague police would interfere with me. I remained in the neighborhood of Professor Masaryk, the present President of the Czechoslovak Republic, with whom I was on friendly terms, although our political views were different. He had a marked preference for the Jews, and I told him that he should turn the universal prestige which he enjoyed to the service of his unhappy Slovak people. He was also the advocate of a policy favorable to Germany, while I, on the contrary, advocated a policy favorable to Russia.

I contributed to almost all the literary and national economic periodicals, and I was a member of the editorial staff of a weekly paper called *Samostatnost* (Inde-

pendence), for which I wrote the regular review of foreign politics. When I began to write for the daily newspapers and for the *Radikální Listy* (*Radical Leaves*), in particular, I received one day a notice from the police ordering me to leave Prague immediately and to stay out of a full half of the Austrian State. After reflection, I decided to go to Zemun, where I would be on Croatian territory, and from where I might watch the ominous events developing at Belgrade, and I succeeded in obtaining the post of reporter for several Czech, French and Russian newspapers.

Throughout the whole year I wrote several books in Czech, for which the Czech Literary Society, *Svatobor*, conferred on me the title of Czech man of letters. One of these works was a pamphlet called *The Ecole Libre of Political Sciences at Paris*; another *Croatia of Today*, in which I incorporated the first part of my thesis at the Ecole Politique at Paris. At Prague I also wrote a work called *The Southern Slavs*, which took in the second half of my thesis, and which appeared in a monthly review, *Rozhledy* (*Panorama*), of which Joseph Pelel was the editor. Somewhat later I wrote a work called *Reflections on International Politics*, in which I embodied translations of some of the most important lectures on diplomacy by one of my teachers, the French historian of diplomacy, Albert Sorel.

The press, and particularly that of the Social National Party, the leader of which is still today M. Klofach, made sympathetic comments on my expulsion, and M. Klofach referred to it most sympathetically in his paper and protested energetically to the Government against it. He also asked me to write a kind of farewell pamphlet to be called *Slavic Youth and Its Social Action*. I did this, and thousands of copies of the work were printed; it also appeared in the leading paper of the Social National Party, a weekly journal called *Czech Democracy*.

At Zemun the police wanted to expel me immediately, but Alexander Badai, the present Chief Justice of the Court of Cassation, who was the most influential member of the Municipal Council, intervened in my favor against this action.

My Relations With Serb Politicians: I

Study the Serbian Political Situation—I lived at Zemun for nearly a year and a half. At first I rarely went to Belgrade, because it was difficult to get permission to cross into Serbia. I established contact with some of the leading Serb politicians and three of them became my close friends, namely Professor Ljuba Jovanovich; the then Chief of the Macedonian section of the Foreign Ministry, Sveta Simich, who wrote under the pseudonym of Paul Orlovich, and who later became the Serbian Ambassador to Sofia, and finally the Secretary of the Ecole Supérieure, later the University of Belgrade, Zhivojin Dachich. All complained, cautiously, of course, of being worse off in Serbia than in Afghanistan, and declared that they did not know how the tyranny of the Obrenovich dynasty and the apathy of the Serbian people respecting this tyranny would end.

At this time there again appeared a bi-monthly review called *Srbski Knjizhevni Glasnik* (*Serbian Literary Review*), in which two of my studies were printed without change, the first under the title *The Croats and the Magyars From 1848 to the Present* (1901), and the second entitled *The German Influence in the Balkans*. The other collaborators received no honorarium, but through the intercession of M. Jovanovich I received a recompense of 26 dinars for each of these two studies. This sum, plus the 10 dinars which I had received from the Director of the Grande Ecole, as well as the other 10 dinars which the Metropolitan Michael had given me, are all the money I ever received from Serbia.

M. Michael Vouich and Sveta Simich tried to persuade me to enter the Serbian Diplomatic Service, or at least to collaborate in the correspondence work of the Serbian Bureau, of which I might soon become the Chief, but I politely but decisively refused both opportunities, mainly because the collaborator or the Chief of a Correspondence Bureau would obviously be the servant of all Governments.

FINANCIAL DISTRESS

I remained at Zemun from the Summer of 1900 till the beginning of 1921. I then went to the Czech village, Konchanitsa, in Croatia, near Daruvar, on the invitation of a professor who lived there, M. Joseph

Krzepelka, who had helped me during my stay in Paris. There I passed several months in great financial distress.

At this time Ban Khuen-Hedervary declared open the period of the legislative elections of the Croatian Parliament in the Autumn of 1901, a whole year before the date when they were scheduled, obviously to precipitate the Opposition, in which object he was successful. As for me, I was arrested because in my propaganda work in the large villages of Podravina (on the right bank of the river Drava), I advised the peasants to vote in favor of the Opposition. Seventy-seven Magyarophile Deputies named solely by the Magyar people were elected, and the Opposition received only eleven mandates. M. Joseph Frank and M. Michael Starchevich broke away from the other Opposition parties, and fought more energetically against the Opposition Party than against the Government. The rest of the Opposition, represented by nine Deputies, organized the "Union of Croatian Opposition," which, on the recommendation of M. Derenchin, the lawyer and Deputy, appointed me Secretary, with a salary of 60 florins a month. Toward the middle of the year 1902, I moved from Konchanitsa to Zagreb, and settled down there. The Union of Croatian Opposition had then no political nor financial organization and they charged me with the task of creating one. I wrote thousands of letters to America and I traveled from village to village in Croatia, and on account of this I was arrested not long afterward.

My Program of Peasant Policy in My First Pamphlets—At Zemun I had written a pamphlet called *How to Find a Remedy for Our Troubles*. Twelve points listed in the conclusion may be considered as the embryo of the social program of the Peasant Party. This pamphlet was printed in Sisak in 3,000 copies at my own expense. It was already exhausted when it was seized by the police. In the Autumn of 1902 I published another pamphlet, called *The Strongest Party in Croatia*. In this study I advocated the idea that the toilers of the field, viz, the peasants, constituted the strongest party because their life and their conception of the rights of the State, as well as their national consciousness naturally inspired them with the best of programs, and

that it was necessary only to organize them in order to realize this program by means of the real vital forces of the nation. This second pamphlet was also seized, but fortunately I had then already sold or sent out almost all copies. Two thousand copies were printed at my expense by the Cooperative Printing House.

In the Autumn of 1902 I published a monthly review of democratic Slavic thought called *Hrvatska Misao* or *Croatian Thought*, which had already appeared in Prague for one year in 1897, and which was already imbued with this same Slavic and peasant sentiment.

FOSTERS PEASANT CAUSE

"The Croatian Thought"—This was a review whose object was to win over intelligent and cultivated people to the peasant cause. I published this review for three years, and toward the month of July I published also in a special pamphlet the plan of the complete program of the Croatian Peasant Party. This plan served as a basis, which I developed into a final program at the end of the same year. During the first year of its existence, from 1903 to 1904, the review was active and gained great influence among its readers; but the second year, 1904-1905, there was a small financial deficit. The third year all the younger readers ceased reading the review because in my articles I had condemned the policy of the Croat-Serbian coalition, that is, the policy of the Magyar Kossuth. The older readers also turned against it, because at that time I was organizing the Croatian Peasant Party. It took me several years to pay the debts the magazine had made me incur.

My sufferings on account of My Defense of the Serbs of Zagreb in My Struggle Against the Magyarization of Croatia—On Sept. 2 and 3 there occurred at Zagreb serious demonstrations against the Serbs, the result of an article called "War or Destruction," published in *The Serb Literary Review* of Belgrade and republished in the Zagreb paper *Srbobran*. I was living then at 15 Prilaz Street, and next door stood the shop of a Serb named Popovich. From the first floor I witnessed the scene of violence which took place during which the mob wrecked the shop and destroyed all the mer-

chandise. On the second day of this reign of terror (Sept. 2) I went down at the insistence of my wife amongst the demonstrators, and spoke to them briefly, telling them that though the obstinacy of the Serbs and their pro-Magyar action hampered all progress in our country, nevertheless they were our blood brothers, and hence that it was both inhuman and unwise to take such violent action against them. The Magyars, on the contrary, I added, with whom we are bound by a compact which has the character of an international treaty—a compact under whose terms the Croatian language must be the only official language of the [Government] bureaus and the Croatian red-white-blue tricolor can wave over the public buildings—wish to tear up this treaty and make us slaves. If the people wish to protest against illegality and violence, I said, they have every opportunity to do so at the railroad station, where all public notices are printed in Hungarian. "Your numbers are so great that you can as easily as playing a game for your own amusement tear down all these illegal notices, put them in a box and send them back to Budapest!"

At first the mob wanted to attack me, but some young men began to shout: "Leave him alone; it's Raditch, who six years ago burned the Magyar flag! He's right; let's leave the Vallagues [viz., the Serbs] alone, and march to the station to tear down the Magyar notices!" At once the mob rushed to the University Square, following the road to the station. But the police and gendarmes were already there and, of course, they arrested me.

SIX MONTHS MORE IN PRISON

My words to the crowd brought me six months more in prison, after an investigation in which the police tried vainly to drag false statements from other witnesses who had been questioned. The police wanted the witnesses to say that I had urged the demonstrators to destroy the station.

My Family and My Freedom—Already at that time the police persecuted my wife and children to force them to leave Zagreb on the ground that they were not of this section. We were fortunate enough to possess 1,000 crowns, 600 of which came from the literary society "Matica Hrvatska" for my

work entitled *Djevojacki Svijet*, or the *World of Girls*; and 400 came from the Czech society "Svatobor" of Prague, mentioned by me above, with which sum my wife was able to begin negotiations for the purchase of a house which had no second story, make advance payments, and with the money which she borrowed from certain banks to buy the house and have it registered in her name as the possessor.

RADITCH CREATES THE PEASANT PARTY

Organization of the Croat Peasant Party Under My Presidency—During this time I worked diligently on a long study called *Modern Colonization and the Slavs*, which soon appeared, published by the society "Matica Hrvatska." This article increased my influence among my political colleagues and because of it I was chosen as President of a temporary committee for the organization of the Peasant Party. This choice was renewed each year and always unanimously by the members of our party.

On Dec. 22, 1904, the meeting of the chief temporary committee for the founding of the Peasant Party was held and at this meeting there was drafted the party program and its interpretation. The program by itself appeared on Dec. 31, 1904, in the weekly review, *The Croat Nation*, and about the middle of January, 1905, the platform and its interpretation were published in a special pamphlet, 10,000 copies of which were printed.

During this time I was occupied on one hand with the organization of the party, on the other hand with writing scientific articles which the above-named association, "Matica Hrvatska," published. These were: *The Real Europe*, in 1908, *The Science of Finance*, *The Czech Nation at the Beginning of the Century*, and then a book of great length, *Real Parliamentarianism—Or the Basis for the Establishing of the State in the Countries of the West*. This work first appeared in 1910 and was published at my own expense.

In 1901 and 1902 I had written and published part of my *Recollections of Prison* in two volumes. The first volume was seized, but by that time it had been entirely sold out or distributed and so the censors suppressed about twenty passages

in the second volume. At the following session of the court I appeared for the sole purpose of obtaining a decision under which my book might appear in such a form that it would show no evidence of the suppression of these twenty passages. Two thousand copies of these volumes were printed and sold, for the most part among students.

Because of the amount of work which the organization of the Peasant Party and the editing of the party's magazine put upon me, I was obliged to give up my collaboration on several Czech, Russian and French newspapers to which I had regularly contributed. I kept up my relations with Czech politicians, however, and for several years I spent a good deal of time in Prague.

The Second Slav Congress at Prague and My Third Trip to Russia: My Sufferings and My Success at St. Petersburg—In 1908 the second congress of the Neoslavs (New Slavs) took place in Prague. To this congress came also a delegation of Russian deputies, at the head of which was Maklakov, as well as the delegation of Polish members of the Russian Parliament headed by Dmowski. (The first Slav Congress had taken place in Prague in 1848.) The delegates only, that is to say, those representatives of all the Slav nations eligible to active membership, took part in the congress. I myself took part as a member of the Croat Parliament and succeeded in making myself known as a force for insistence. The congress held meetings throughout an entire week and after these discussions the members of the congress, Russian and Polish particularly, made a trip to the south of Bohemia, where I translated for the Czech public the speeches of each of the members of the congress. I made the acquaintance of and better still I made friends with several Russians, who, seeing that I spoke the Czech language perfectly and knew the Czech situation in all its details, invited me to come again during the same Autumn to St. Petersburg to give a series of lectures on the Czechs and on the Slavs of the South. Prince Lvov, later the Minister-President [Premier] of the first truly democratic government of Russia, as well as General Volodimirov and M. Ozerov, Professor of the University of

Petrograd, among others, invited me for these conferences. But several months went by after the close of the congress and even the entire Autumn of 1908 and nearly the whole Winter of 1909 before I was able to go to Russia. For this sojourn I had to borrow from the First Croat Savings Bank on our little home, still without a second story and now burdened with a mortgage of 1,400 crowns to pay for this trip.

THE WAR THREAT OVER BOSNIA

At this time the Austrian Government proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary. Bulgaria at once proclaimed herself independent of Turkey, and there came about in Europe an extraordinary political tension between Russia on one side and Germany and Austria on the other. Nevertheless, I went to St. Petersburg with my wife, and my children remained in Prague with my family. In St. Petersburg I found a whole group of Serbs who were agitating, with a great deal of success, to the effect that Russia should not recognize the annexation and who proposed that Bosnia be annexed to Turkey. They lectured and wrote especially that it would be preferable to provoke a war than that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be annexed to Austria.

There was then in St. Petersburg an organization called "The Society of Public Combatants," at the head of which were Milyukov and Maklakov. I succeeded in obtaining the privilege of lecturing before this society on the rights of Croatia and Croatians in Bosnia and Herzegovina from a geographical point of view, taking into account both intellectual and moral aspirations and religious considerations, since the Mohammedans of Bosnia, who are Slavs and who form the oldest part of the population of Bosnia, were in increasing numbers declaring themselves Croats in both the political and nationalistic sense of the word. Thus Bosnia and Herzegovina, with regard to nationality are as much Croatian as Serbian.

My lecture lasted nearly two hours, in spite of interruptions from the Serbs, who at the outset heckled me at each phrase and punctuated my sentences with ironic reflections. I succeeded, nevertheless, in

securing the serious interest of political circles in the questions that I had discussed. I said in particular that it was stupid to assert that there would come to Bosnia every year a half million Germans from Germany and that Bosnia would be Germanized within several years, since no political desire can direct the flow of emigration, which is subject to very severe and unavoidable economic laws. I pointed out in particular that about 1890, 200,000 people had emigrated from Germany, but that at the end of ten years this total had fallen to 20,000; that all the German population was bound for America and that all the Bismarcks in the world and all the Hohenzollerns could not make them go to Bosnia.

Prince E. E. Ukhtomski, the most intimate friend of the Czar, was interested in this and invited me to his home some time later. There I found a very distinguished group of Russian and foreign economists, specialists in economic and financial questions, and also some politicians. I had the opportunity there of expressing my views on the annexation of Bosnia and of showing clearly and briefly the situation of all the Slav nations in Austria-Hungary. At this meeting were present, as I have already said, several political and financial notables, to whom I repeated briefly what I had said in my public discourse on the subject of the annexation of Bosnia. I expressed also my opinion that only the Poles, the Czechs and the Southern Slavs could be the links between Russia and the democracies of the West, under the condition naturally that the Russians should be free as well. I explained finally the organization of the Peasant Party, referring to a number of the *Croat Idea* of 1904, in which an article entitled *Against Tyranny and Against Revolution* had helped me to develop the idea that a real democracy is as far from violence from above as from revolution from below.

Prince Ukhtomski observed that he had never heard any one express these ideas and he begged me to tell him in detail the history of the founding of the Peasant Party and what had been the result of my work and my organization up to this time (1909). I told him among other things that in the course of my frequent sojourns in Croatia

I had questioned the children so as to learn whether there was in their village a single man who would not drink at the local tavern, who had the courage to reproach the village priest, who was economical and who loved not only his own children but those of others as well. When the children had shown me such a man I went to stay at his home and when I learned that he could read and write, that he loved the school and that his wife ate with him at their table I put him down as one of my future collaborators. There were then a few more than a hundred of these peasants and all together we had succeeded in bringing together about 10,000 peasants, having for our chief principle the doctrine that we must not believe in any authority, but that we must fight no government with arms. When the entire nation, or at least a great majority, would be organized on this basis no government would be capable of resisting our will.

After these words a banker arose and interrupted me, saying: "You will never succeed in this, even in fifty years."

CZAR ACCEPTS HIS ADVICE ON BOSNIA

But Prince Ukhtomski asked me whether I could make a résumé in writing of all that I had just said and in addition of my ideas of a peasant democracy, of the annexation of Bosnia and finally of the present situation and of the duty of Slavs who were not Russians. He said that he wished to send it to the Czar and to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to publish some passages from it in his newspaper, *Peterburgskiya Vedomosti* (*Petersburg News*). Furthermore, he told me that Professor Sirotinin had written a comment of seven columns on my study *The Modern Colonization and the Slavs* in the above paper and that Professor Sirotinin was going to translate some chapters of my book *The Real Europe*, because, as he said, a book of this kind did not exist in Russian political literature. The next day I received an invitation from the famous Russian publicist, M. Stakhovich. This publicist, who had also been at the Congress of Prague, where he had invited me to go to St. Petersburg, lived outside St. Petersburg on his estate. He held Ukhtomski not only as a conservative but as a violent reactionary.

Nevertheless, he rejoiced that Ukhtomski had promised that he would take my résumé to the Czar and he encouraged me to write my best.

I worked at this report for nearly two weeks and if I had written it alone it would have taken me a month. As it was, I delivered it in a beautifully written manuscript in my wife's handwriting on Feb. 23, 1909, I believe, in the presence of Baron Frederiks, Minister at the Czar's Court, who was intensely interested in the reasons why the annexation of Bosnia was [as I stated] a triumph for the Slav cause. This would be the case, of course, only if Russia would give the Slavs, instead of the orthodox or territorial policy, a national policy, which in fact would mean a policy of peasant democracy. I explained this briefly and earnestly and I talked with so great persuasiveness of the foolishness and the terrible danger that it would be for Russia (because of the internal revolution) to undertake a war on behalf of Bosnia, that, after I had spoken, Baron Frederiks rose and said to me: "All that you have said I would like to repeat today to the Czar. Russia will confirm the annexation and because of the annexation will not invoke a war."

HONORS IN MOSCOW AND PRAGUE

I judged from this that I had succeeded in the principal purpose of my trip to Russia. On the insistence of my Russian friends I remained in St. Petersburg until the end of the month of March and then delivered a lecture in Moscow, which was organized by some professors of the university. By good fortune General Volodimirov, Professor in the Military Academy of St. Petersburg, spoke before me, and in a discourse which lasted for an hour he presented the Croat Peasant Party as the purest form of democracy imaginable. In the midst of the conference about twenty Serbians rushed into the hall crying, "Down with Austria! Down with Annexation! Down with Raditch!" and they started toward the platform. God alone knows what would have happened if they had reached me. But I was seated in the audience and General Volodimirov simply ordered that the Serbs be excluded and that they be kept from re-entering the hall.

Thanks to that order I was able to deliver my lecture without interruption. The subject of the discourse was *The Situation and the Duty of Forty Million Slavs Who Are Not Russians*. I began it by speaking of Prague and the Czechs, I continued speaking of Constantinople, of the Bulgarians and the Serbs, and finally of the Poles of Posen (which then belonged to Germany) and of Galicia, and I finished by speaking of the Danube, of the Adriatic Sea and of the Croats. I had an extraordinary success and they applauded me at the end for ten minutes.

After this lecture I delivered a very animated address in a well-known hotel in Moscow at which several hundred men of the intellectual élite were present. Through this speech I prevented any further attention from being paid to the perfidious calumnies according to which I had been sent to Russia by the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Aehrenthal, and that I had gone to Russia with the expectation of being rewarded with an Austrian portfolio.

From Russia I set out for Krakow, where I remained for only a short time and where I lectured before the "Slav Society," at the head of which was the University Professor Zdziechowski, and in the Union, the largest academic society in Krakow. I took for the subject of my discussion *The Two Slav Factions, the Faction for Revolution and the Faction for Democracy*. I spoke naturally in favor of the democratic party and I proved with irresistible and convincing force that the real Slav democracy should and must be only the Peasant Democracy.

Soon after, in Prague, I wrote a long article, *My Third Trip to Russia*, which appeared in a monthly Czech conservative review, most highly esteemed, entitled *Osveta* (Culture). This article was published by the *Croat Journal* of Sarajevo, but it did not appear until April or May, 1914. The entire Czech press commented at length on this article and M. François Udrzmal, the President of the Slav Union and then a member of the Austrian Parliament, who was a short time ago Minister of War, wrote me a long letter, which he concluded as follows: "You alone are ignorant of the extent to which the Slav

Union is indebted to your work in St. Petersburg and Moscow, for all your discourses have been taken down word for word and communicated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and this proves that our Slav policy is open, pure and loyal in this monarchy. I can tell you that I have learned that you have contributed enormously to the avoidance of an outbreak of war on the occasion of the annexation. And this war would have had for us Slavs consequences even more terrible than those which the war of 1866 held for the Germans."

PEASANT PARTY PROGRESS

The Peasant Party and Ban Tomasich—At this time the Croat-Serb Coalition became reconciled with Budapest and Professor Tomasich of the university became the Ban, or Governor, of Croatia. He interested himself in the peasant program, not in the way in which it was drawn up, but in its realization. For this reason I had long discussions with him which ended in such a way that the Governor made known to Pesth and to Vienna that the Peasant Party, although against militarism and in favor of the referendum of Switzerland [Under this referendum the Swiss people have the right to vote on Constitutional Amendments—EDITOR] was not a party of revolution, but, on the contrary, was conservative with respect to religion and national customs; that from a political point of view it was liberal, particularly in what concerned constitutional liberty and electoral rights; that it was radical in concrete social questions already ripe for solution and that it pointed out specific ways of solving these problems.

The result of these discussions was a small brochure, *The Rights of the Peasant*, containing 100 questions and 100 answers, of which 10,000 copies were printed.

Governor Tomasich pointed out to me in particular that at Budapest, and still more in Vienna, he had found a flurry of denunciations proceeding from the aristocracy and from the bishops, as well as from several "secret advisers" of all possible parties. And all these denunciations ended in the mendacious affirmation that the Peasant Party was entirely of the Panslavic and Republican faith; that I myself was the

most dangerous enemy of the dynasty and the monarchy, and that I was in the service of Serbia, of Russia and of France.

A short time later they extended the electoral rights, a reform the greatest credit for which must be given to Governor Tomasich, who, on May 28, 1910, presented the above mentioned bill for signature to the Emperor and King, Francis Joseph, at Budapest, without asking to be announced to the Minister-President [Premier] Khuen-Hedervary until this project should receive the royal sanction.

This law increased the total of voters from 48,000 to more than 200,000 at the following Parliamentary elections in the Autumn of 1910. Thanks to this law the Peasant Party obtained 16,000 votes and nine Deputies, five of whom were real peasants working their own lands themselves. The party made use of this force to bring about the insertion by the Governor in the message to the King of some of the measures advocated in the peasant program, and in this it succeeded. The Ban seemed to believe that the Peasant Party could aid him under the terms of the Croat-Serb Coalition. But not only were the denunciations of the reactionary circles—feudal and clerical—not stopped, they even brought into their net the Governor, Tomasich, about whom they said that he was like Raditch and perhaps even worse. In order to free himself of this accusation Tomasich decided to arrest me, although the Croat Parliament was not yet dissolved. I declared that as a Deputy I would submit only to armed force. To avoid all scandal the chief of police suspended my arrest, but I was to be arrested after the dissolution of the Chamber. I succeeded in finding a refuge throughout the entire electoral session, that is, for six weeks, and when at last the official report of my election in my district of Ludbreg was announced I was able to come out of hiding and to return to my home.

Founding of the Slav Bookshop—At this time I founded with my wife the Slav Bookshop, which still exists today as the property of my wife. I borrowed the necessary amount for the bookshop from a Czech friend, who could not bear that in spite of my constant literary and political work I should live in the

greatest poverty with my wife and children. He advised me not only to write but to sell books, assuring me that I would earn more thereby.

NEW IMPRISONMENTS

But scarcely had I established this bookshop, in November, 1911, than the successor of Governor Tomasich, the Royal Commissioner Cuvaj, at the end of January dissolved the Chamber without having convoked it, by a simple decision published in the official record. The Commissioner of Police arrived at my bookshop with a number of the official record which was not yet dry and took me off to prison with all speed, whence I was later transferred to the prison of the tribunal of the city of Osiek. They left me there until the month of August and then I was again transferred to Zagreb. There I had to serve another sentence of three weeks, discovered on the books. After that I regained my liberty while waiting for the Supreme Court to pronounce a decision on my condemnation.

My Struggle and My Pamphlet Against Political Assassinations and Against All Revolutions—At this time an attempt was made to assassinate the Commissioner, Cuvaj. I was imprisoned for some time with the instigator, Yukich, his accomplices and his supposed accomplices. I had the opportunity to talk with all these young men and I learned from them that they had brought ideas from Belgrade, from the society of young Serbian students which was called *Slovenski Yug* (Southern Slavs). This society edited a weekly journal by this name. Of course, I had spoken to no one except my most intimate political friends, for I knew that young Croatia aspired to national enfranchisement and that under the growing pressure of Magyar tyranny and Austrian reaction a revolt of this kind was inevitable on the part of a people such as ours. In spite of that I was very uneasy, because I was even at that time profoundly convinced that a terrorist action could hinder the growth of even great nations and could bring about the ruin of a small nation, without considering the fact that terrorism and revolt are outlawed from a moral point of view.

In the meantime I received a visit from a young American who told me that he had been sent by a secret society of seventy

Croats in America for the purpose of assassinating the royal commissioner. I listened attentively to this young man and when he had finished I said to him: "Either you are a rascal and an *agent provocateur* [police spy] and then naturally would assassinate no one, which is well, or you are a brave lad and believe truly that you can enfranchise Croatia by an attempt at assassination. But in the latter case you are on the wrong track, for the royal commissioner is not the cause of our slavery to Hungary and Austria; on the contrary, his presence is the consequence of this slavery. It is the terrible political ignorance of the Croat peasants which is the cause of it. And you must find another cause in the deplorable fact that for twenty years, every year, ten, twenty and even thirty thousand men among the most capable and enterprising of our country emigrate to America. More than a half million Croats are in America, and you tell me that seventy of them wish to assassinate, one after the other, all the tyrants imposed on us by Vienna or Budapest. First, this shall not and cannot come about; second, if assassinations were committed, Austria would consider us—all Croats—as outcasts and would put us outside the law. Do you know what Prince Kropotkin did in Russia? Yes? Good! Have you heard of the whole list of Russian, Polish and Magyar princes and counts who brought about a revolution? Yes? Good! You see, then, that only an aristocracy, and an aristocracy only of a great nation where the aristocrats are in large numbers, can have recourse to assassination or instigate a revolution with more or less success. A nation of peasants like ours has before it but one road, that of culture and organization, and finally a fearless and tenacious struggle by all the means which Western democracy has at its disposal."

I concluded by asking him: "Have you understood all I said?" He replied: "Yes; I thank you for the excellent advice which you have given me."

I added something more at the end of our conversation: "Listen! If you are really an honest lad, it would be regrettable for you to expose your life for a renegade like Cuvaj. There are dozens of men like Cuvaj, while you are the only one of your kind." I warned him that he must not by

his language allow any one to suspect that he had been sent by Croats in America.

TRIUMPHS OVER CENSORSHIP

Some time after this conversation Baron Skrlec became the Governor, and my mysterious visitor made an attempt upon his life. I began then to believe that it was true that our American compatriots had organized a secret society having for its purpose the sending into our country of as many patriotic assassins as the commissioners whom Hungary and Austria put in authority. I reflected upon this and decided to work over the article which I had published in 1904 in my magazine under the title, *Against Tyranny and Against Revolution*. I had it published in a little pamphlet entitled *A Public Message to Our Croat Brothers in America*. I wrote as an inscription on the cover of the pamphlet the words of Jesus Christ, "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword," and I put with it the Croat proverb: "Mud is not purified with mud." I wrote this pamphlet at one sitting, and poured my whole soul into it.

This pamphlet appeared in 25,000 copies, and I secured a number of the publication of the National Croat Union in America entitled *The Unionist (Zajednicar)*, in which were the addresses not only of its branches, which had more than 400 members, but also the addresses of all the committees of each branch. I had thus several thousand correct addresses which were recorded day and night in my bookshop, and I hoped to be able to sell several thousand in Croatia. But suddenly I received a decision of the Attorney General that my pamphlet, entirely censored, had been seized. I went immediately to the headquarters of the Government to ask of the Governor what this action meant, but the Governor was in Budapest. I then went to the home of the Vice Governor, Fodrocij, and I commenced my conversation with him in these words: "*Even God cannot help imbeciles.*"

"What do you mean by that?" he replied. I explained to him that I feared that this outrage would be followed by another, and that I proposed to prevent it. We would not, I said, succeed in this through the medium of the police, but by

an appeal to reason, to honor, to humanity and to the political conscience of our people yonder. Naturally, I could do this only by relying on the Croatian peasant policy, which was at once constitutional and progressive, Slav and humane, and in consequence in entire agreement with the opinions of our American compatriots. At the same time I read him several passages from my pamphlet, in which I proved irrefutably that attempts at assassination and revolution could ruin a small people. Recourse to this method was not necessary, I added, now, especially since we had received wider electoral rights, which placed in our hands an invincible weapon for continuing the struggle legally, following the example of the Western democracies. The Lieutenant Governor at once summoned M. Teodor Bosnjak, a Serb, and M. Gustave Frank, a Jew, and requested them to read the pamphlet rapidly and report to him whether or not the censorship could be released. Four hours later I arrived to learn the answer, and M. Fodrocij informed me that he had just telephoned the Governor at Budapest, M. Skrlec, to tell him his own personal opinion and that of the two gentlemen, and that the Governor had ordered that the censorship be lifted entirely.

I rejoiced at this measure; I took a dozen copies of my pamphlet and, going from one publisher to another, I asked them whether they would be willing to announce it and recommend it. I also expressed my views of what should be written on the subject of the attack, and, naturally, against it. Finally I went to the publishing house *Srbobran (The Serbian Defender)*, where M. Pribichevich, the publisher, received me coldly and unpleasantly, telling me that he was unwilling to publish, much less recommend, such a pamphlet, since we needed among us men of this kind. I interrupted him with the words, "If you were not a vulgar coward you would have been forced to make such an attack long ago."

The Beginning of the World War: The Croation Peasants Opposed to the War—At the close of the Autumn of 1913 the Parliamentary elections were held under the control of a royal Commissariat. All the bourgeois parties united to defeat the Peasant Party. For this reason it obtained

only three representatives, although it had received 17,000 votes. Ten candidates, among them my brother, M. Antoine Raditch, were defeated by ten votes. Even this did not satisfy the Serb-Croat coalition majority in Parliament, which, therefore, voided my election twice on the pretext that I had no civil rights, not yet having served a sentence incurred in an affair with a Prefect. This accusation was made despite the fact that, though sentenced for only three months, I had spent nearly a year in prison. I was elected at each of these elections, the first time in April, 1914, and the second time on June 28 of the same year; that is to say, on the exact day of the murder of Sarajevo.

AS A DEPUTY

At the same moment that my election was announced the telegram telling of the murder of Sarajevo arrived at Ludbreg. I condemned this murder publicly, in accordance with my convictions, and the people condemned it even more severely. At the same time the people immediately began to say that it would not be just to kill many thousands of people because of the death of only two people, Francis Ferdinand and his wife. This proved to me that the judgment of enlightened workers on great events is more profound and broader than that of the greatest thinkers and philosophers.

At the beginning of the war I immediately received news from all parts of Serbia of the fire and destruction caused by the Magyars in the Serbian country, being, as they were, a people who had no idea of the difficulties of building a home and raising wheat.

Shortly afterward I received and immediately published peace songs written by women and young girls, for which reason the army authorities informed me that they had suppressed the *Dom* [the weekly periodical of the Peasant Party]. I went to army headquarters and explained that the war was a passing fever, and that in respect to those duties which apply in ordinary times war is an exception, while peace is the normal state. For this reason, I said, we must rejoice that backward peoples are civilized enough to desire peace with all their hearts. That will not injure war, I added,

because soldiers know how to do their duty, that duty which finds the Croats also at their posts. Nevertheless, I was later summoned twice more and ordered not to publish any songs of peace under that title, or, at least, not to print them on the front page, but only on the last page. I found myself the latter time in the presence of an intelligent officer, to whom I succeeded in showing the fundamental fallacy, primarily from the military point of view, of suppressing the *Dom* solely because of the publication of the pacifist songs. From then on I was not again summoned on this charge.

But suddenly I was put through a military examination and declared fit for service, in spite of my extreme nearsightedness. I succeeded with great effort in obtaining counter-examinations, naturally by a Magyar and a German doctor. Fortunately, both were so honest that they declared me so nearsighted that I could not even walk in the street, and that, for this highly important reason, it would be absolutely impossible for me to serve in the army.

How Did I Learn That the Entente Would Be Victorious? My Departure for Prague at the Beginning of 1918—At this time I began to receive some very interesting cards and letters from military men who were partisans of the Peasant Party. These communications, written with a profound knowledge of the sentiment of the Slav people, and the Russian people in particular, and all overflowing with the purest humanity, gave me a picture of all that was happening at the front and enabled me to foresee what would be the dénouement of the war. Although I had absolutely no relations either with military circles here or with our political exiles abroad, already in 1915 in my speeches in Parliament I was calling the Entente the conscience of Europe, and America the conscience of the Entente. I also protested against the inhuman and barbarous treatment to which the Germans subjected the Serbs, and on another occasion I predicted that the German Emperor, Wilhelm, would end his days on an island off Siberia or Africa, as Napoleon had on St. Helena. When Charles, the new Emperor, mounted the throne I told Parliament clearly that

Croatian fidelity did not and could not mean fidelity to the dual hegemony of the Magyars and the Germans, nor fidelity to the Croat-Hungarian convention, nor, in general, fidelity to the relation of tyrants to slaves. I added that if we Croats were forced to remain always faithful to such a form of State I would be the first to cry, "Down with the Habsburgs!" and that I was sure that all the Croatian soldiers would follow me, especially those of the Italian front.

Because of these declarations, the former Vice President of the Parliament, M. Lukinich, excluded me from fifteen to thirty sessions, sometimes on his own initiative, sometimes on the initiative of the Croat-Serb coalition, then in the majority. Simultaneously the same coalition, as I afterward found out, by a secret and sure way sent my declarations, exaggerated and falsified, to the foreign press, particularly to Switzerland, with lying statements regarding the wild enthusiasm with which the majority in Parliament had applauded and actively approved my declarations and what I had said in favor of immediate union with Serbia.

MOMENTOUS CONFERENCES IN PRAGUE

In March, 1918, M. Rudolf Giunio of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), in Southern Dalmatia, former editor-in-chief of the *Svobodna Tribuna* (*The Free Tribune*), brought me an invitation from M. Shvehla President of the Czech Peasant Party and former President of the Government of Prague, to come to that city, despite all obstacles, in view of the fact that the fate of all the Slav people under monarchies was at stake. I accepted this invitation, and on the way visited the Bulgarian Embassy at Vienna, where I declared without reservation that at home in Croatia there were practically no partisans of the Habsburg dynasty, and that we Croats begged and implored Bulgaria to forsake the Central Powers, to stop fighting and to hasten the liberation and union of the Slavs in Southern Austria-Hungary. At the above-mentioned Slav Congress of Prague in 1908 I had struck up very cordial relations with a professor of the University of Bulgaria, Bobchev, who a little later became Minister of Religion. In this rôle he had sent me all

the information I needed and requested, to keep me in touch with the Bulgarian situation, from the political, intellectual and economic points of view. Basing my study on this data and on personal observations which I had made in Bulgaria in 1911, I wrote a work at great length, entitled *The Bulgarian Renaissance* (*Obnovljena Bugarska*), the first part of which I published in 1914 under the title of *The History of Bulgaria to 1878* (*Bugarska od najstarijih vremena do 1878*). The second part, entitled *Bulgaria From 1878 to 1913* (*Burgarska od 1878 do 1913*), is still in manuscript because of my lack of resources. This work gained for me the deep and sincere sympathy of several Bulgarian political leaders, particularly the former Ambassador to Vienna, and it was for this reason that I went to his home with as much confidence as though I had known him for many years.

In Prague I was present, on March 13, at a confidential meeting which included seventy foremost Czechs of all parties, and besides myself three other Croats, a Serbo-Croat and one Slovene (Korochez). I explained to them frankly, in the course of an hour and half's speech, that for the Croats the policy of Vienna and Budapest was completely finished, that in Croatia the old confidence in Austria, similar to that of the soldiers of the frontier, had disappeared, and that the new hopes that Hungary might be better than Austria had vanished. I told them also that we were entirely ready to accept with open arms union with Serbia and Montenegro, but naturally on the guarantee of complete and concrete equality, either from the standpoint of the old Croat State, which had existed for a thousand years, with national independence, or, what would be still better, in the spirit of our Slav peasant policy. I insisted that this evolution existed also among the Slovenes and that M. Shushtershich, and his small group of adherents, made up of "black and yellow" [designations of political factions] incorrigibles, were the only ones who stood in the way.

Among the most important Czechs who were present at this meeting were M. Shvehla, M. Stanek, M. Udrzhal, M. Kramár, the late M. Rashin, M. Hajn, M. Shámal, who congratulated me and begged

me to make a résumé in Croatian so that the Croats and M. Budisavljevich, a Serb, also present, might express themselves on the subject of my speech, the only part of which they disapproved being my attack on M. Shushtershich. The Croats and the Serb enthusiastically approved what I said.

At that moment a message arrived from Ljubljana, containing the information that Shushtershich had, in the Assembly, condemned my departure for Prague, and had declared that the whole conference of Prague was treasonous. After that the Czechs placed even more faith in my assurances that Croatia was entirely willing to leave Austria-Hungary.

In the same year, 1918, I spent a week at Prague toward the middle of May, and while passing through Vienna I stopped off at the Bulgarian Embassy. There I received positive information that Bulgaria had decided to quit the Solun frontier, abandoning the Central Powers, and that the Bulgarian people were ready to take this action in case King Ferdinand refused to do so.

On July 27, 1918, so certain was I of this, that I convened, for the first time since 1914, a meeting of the Chief Committee of the Peasant Party. In these circumstances the Peasant Party declared itself republican. The regular annual General Assembly, which was held on Nov. 25, 1918, and the extraordinary General Assembly, held on Feb. 3, 1919, approved this decision. At the first Assembly 2,832 representatives participated, and at the second 6,838 representatives of all the Croatian countries. All this was the work of the Croatian peasant spirit, reawakened and developed by the World War.

HIS LIFE THREATENED

The Tyranny of Svetozar Pribichevich— In the interval, according to a plan of M. Pribichevich to be carried out by one of his most zealous agents, I was to be brought before a tribunal of the people in the public square of St. Marc and executed there. I told Pribichevich that he could do that, but that he would have to cope with the fury of the peasants, who within twenty-four hours would make short work of him and all the members of the National Council.

On Nov. 24, 1918, it was decided that

some Dalmatian and Serbian officers would attack me in the great hall of the Parliament. But they were so impressed by my speech, which lasted late into the night, and in which I stressed the possibility of a real union of spirit between the Croats and Serbs, that two of them, accompanied by Dr. Dushan Popovich, one of the leaders of the Pribichevich faction, escorted me home as a bodyguard.

At the close of 1918 I sent to President Masaryk at Prague two delegates of the Peasant Party with written and irrefutable proofs of the inhuman beatings which had occurred in Croatia, beginning Dec. 1, 1918, especially in the Department of Bjelovar, and particularly in the commune of Racha. Among the documents there was also the condemnation of a certain Lieutenant Yovanovich, a former Judge, who also had beaten women for reading *Dom* (the weekly periodical of the Peasant Party) and for proclaiming themselves republicans. President Masaryk promised that he would intervene with a friendly warning to the Government of Belgrade against the beatings. This intervention, if carried out, had absolutely no effect. But the Belgrade Government officially denied in the foreign press that any beatings were occurring or ever had occurred in Croatia. In the meanwhile, beatings continued to occur all over Croatia.

The chief instigator of these barbarisms was a man named Teslich, a former Austrian Colonel, a Serb and a fanatic adherent of Pribichevich, who as Commandant of the town of Fiume, then under Yugoslav control, evacuated that town and seaport without orders from Belgrade and subsequently started a large alcohol and liqueurs factory at Sisak, near Zagreb. On March 22, 1921, he attempted to kill me during an assembly of the Peasant Party by firing at me four times as I stood on the platform, about to begin my speech. He was no further than twenty meters away from me and counted on surely killing me with the first volley. The Attorney General, nevertheless, refused to prosecute him for this crime.

My Third Trip to Prague in 1918 to Fix a Common Boundary for the Croats and Czechs— Between the Croatian town Varazhdin, on the Drava, and the Slovakian

town Bratislava, on the Danube, there is a region called Burgenland, part of which at present belongs to Austria, but most of which has remained under Magyar rule. Historically this area has been entirely Slav for a thousand years, and from the racial point of view is today largely Croatian. Even in 1851 the noted Austrian statistician, Dr. Czoernig, found 140,000 Croats here. According to Austrian and Magyar statistics, there are actually 80,000. From the point of view of the new European policy, which was supposed to assure a lasting peace, feudal, anti-social and militaristic Hungary had to be absolutely cut off from Austria, which fortunately considers itself only an appendage of Germany, and it was of first importance to connect Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia by this region. I explained the plan of this union to the Premier of Czechoslovakia chiefly from the economic standpoint, suggesting a railway from Bratislava to Varazhdin through a neutral zone similar to that between Germany and France. Minister Shvehla was enthusiastic about it, but the Minister of Foreign Affairs vetoed the project.

TWO YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT

The Croatian Note to the Versailles Peace Conference and My Two Years' Imprisonment—On Feb. 3, 1919, 6,668 Croatian peasant delegates at Zagreb adopted a resolution to address to the Peace Conference a note, signed by the head of the party, demanding the right of self-determination for the Croat nation. During one month more than 200,000 signatures were collected. On March 25, 1919, in spite of the fact that I was a member of the Croatian Parliament and one of the temporary representatives at Belgrade, I was arrested by order of Pribichevich, then Minister of the Interior, who kept me in prison without instructions and without giving a single reason for the arrest until February, 1920, or about one year. Soon after, on March 22, 1920, under the régime of the famous Stojan Protich, I was arrested for a speech at Sisak, where the above-mentioned Teslich was to have killed me. Since I escaped death, they again deprived me of my liberty, and it was not until Nov. 28, 1920, the day of the election of the Yugoslav constituents, that I was

set free by a royal pardon.

My Exile—On March 28, 1923, the Peasant Party obtained 420,000 votes and 69 Deputies in the Parliamentary elections. The Premier, then Pashich, made me a secret offer to enter the Government, without any condition, or he would dispose of me in the same way as he had disposed of several Serbian officers, members of the Black Hand. Thus I was forced to leave the country, and I betook myself to London to learn English and to study at close range the institutions of British political life.

I arrived in London on Aug. 17, 1923, and remained there until Dec. 22 of the same year. I made no effort to see any of the high officials, but on the contrary lived in complete retirement and studied ten hours a day, with the result that I was able to read three lectures in English, one to the Balkan Committee, another to the Central Committee of the Labor Party and a third to the Near East Society. These lectures explained the Croatian problem and the general economic and social situation in Yugoslavia.

On Dec. 24, 1924, I arrived in Vienna. There I did everything in my power to come to an agreement with the faction opposing M. Pashich and succeeded in reaching an agreement with the leader of this faction, M. Davidovich. The Croatian peasant Deputies came to Belgrade and forced him into the minority, so that he was obliged to resign. But suddenly the Parliament, which had been completed by the arrival of Croat Deputies, was dissolved on May 26, 1924, until Oct. 20 of the same year.

At this moment I received the fourth invitation from M. Chicherin to come to Moscow to study the Soviet régime on the spot. Before leaving I explained to the Austrian Chief of Police, former Chancellor Schober, in a long conference, my reasons for my trip to Moscow. I explained to him in particular that I in no way approved the dictatorial method and the materialistic ideal of the Bolshevik leaders, but that I was eager to know the other half of Europe in its new form, which in my opinion would never return to Czarism. I left Vienna on May 29, 1924, arrived at Moscow on June 2 and returned directly to Zagreb on Aug. 1, 1924.

On July 26, 1924, M. Davidovich formed the new Government, with the consent of the Croatian Deputies, and although this Government did not dare invite me to return to my native land, it also did not dare to arrest me when I did come back.

The Davidovich Government lasted only four months, and it was then that the famous PP régime (Pashich-Pribichevich) was formed, which on Dec. 24, 1924, by an executive act outlawed the Croatian Peasant Party as Bolshevik and imprisoned not only me but five other leaders of the party and approximately 2,000 leaders of local organizations. The general elections took place under this exceptional régime on Feb. 8, 1925. The Peasant Party cast 532,000 votes and elected 67 Deputies.

RADITCH AND HIS PARTY TRIUMPH

The Peasant Party in Power—At the Parliament of Belgrade on March 27, 1925, a declaration was read in which the Peasant Party reaffirmed its faith in its program of social justice, from the peasant point of view, including the recognition as well as the radical reform of private property; respect for religion, but also the elimination of all clerical influence, and lastly, respect for the citizen, not only as a juridical entity but also as a human personality, as the basis of all civilized society. This declaration expressly recognized the monarchy, the Karagjorgjevich [Karageorgevich] dynasty, and the existing Constitution of the Yugoslav State.

After this it was impossible to invalidate all the Croatian representatives as being communistic. They annulled only the eligibility of six of the leaders and appointed for twenty-nine representatives a board of inquiry, which declared after three months of work that there was not the slightest trace of communism in the ranks of the Croatian Peasant Party. All the Croatian delegates were then proclaimed eligible, with the exception of the President and the five collaborators.

It was then that the Radical Serb Party

and the Croatian Peasant Party each chose three Deputies, who during six weeks held oral conferences and written communications, culminating in an agreement on July 14, 1925, which provided that in the entire State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes all citizens would be equal in the eyes of the Constitution; that all communes would receive complete autonomy and that all taxes would be levied by the same method throughout the kingdom.

On July 18, following, the new RR (Radical-Raditch) Government was appointed and I, together with the five leaders of the Peasant Party, was freed by an act of royal pardon.

On Nov. 18, 1925, I entered the coalition Government as Minister of Public Instruction. At the beginning of April, 1926, I told M. Pashich quite frankly that I could cooperate with him only on condition that a serious and efficacious struggle would be carried on against corruption and that a continuous and effective effort would be made to give the people legislation on taxes and on the autonomy of the communes. Since M. Pashich refused my conditions, I declined to cooperate with him and it was another leader of the Radical Party who, after having accepted these conditions, again formed a coalition Croat-Serb Government. This Government had already been partially revised four times and I retired from it to facilitate the position of the new President of the Council, M. Uzunovich, in the radical club. At the time of the fourth partial revision of the Government I succeeded in introducing a Slovene into the actual coalition Government to represent the entire Slovene people, so that there are now [viz, in 1926] thirteen Serbian Ministers, four Croats and one Slovene. The time is approaching when there will be nine Serbs and nine Croats and Slovenes, which will be a visible sign and an irrefutable proof of the real and practical equality between the Croats and Slovenes and our brother Serbs.



New Methods of Combating Crime

By C. S. MORRILL

SUPERINTENDENT, CALIFORNIA STATE BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION

ON the evening of July 29, 1926, while Carter the Great, world-famed magician, mystified a San Francisco audience, another star performer was staging a mystery for the magician—and the police. Fourteen thousand dollars in jewels disappeared that evening from Carter's apartment.

Two days later puzzled detectives of the city were advised by the State criminal identification bureau that the stolen jewelry was being peddled in Nevada. As the direct result of this information the detectives, their trip financed by Carter, the victim, within two weeks recovered practically all the jewels and arrested four well-known migratory criminals—the burglar and three accomplices who were disposing of the loot.

This recovery of jewels and apprehension of criminals were possible because California has broken down the barrier of isolation that surrounds the police of many States. For California has a centralized crime bureau which reaches out from city to city and State to State to gather information for her otherwise isolated police units and to coordinate their efforts in apprehending migratory criminals.

Of all criminals, the most elusive, the worst police problems, are migratory criminals. They operate up and down a State or back and forth across the continent, robbing, stealing and swindling as they go. Police officials, on the other hand, are stationed in one place, unauthorized to follow a fugitive's trail except on rare occasions when they have almost positive knowledge of his whereabouts, or when a private citizen finances their investigation.

Had the San Francisco burglary, for instance, been committed in South Carolina or Kansas and the fugitives escaped to North Carolina or Nebraska, they would probably have never been apprehended nor the jewelry recovered.

A criminal may commit murder in Virginia and escape responsibility by crossing the border to West Virginia. Even though he be arrested immediately thereafter, arrested successively in ten small communi-

ties of West Virginia and served terms in half a dozen county jails, he may never pay the penalty for the murder in the adjacent State, for he may never be identified as the murderer.

In most States, by the simple expedient of shunning large cities, the criminal can avoid contact with the record of his former misdeeds, because sheriffs, marshals and police in small or outlying districts often do not know how to take fingerprints, and because in many cities the prints taken are not sent to centralized bureaus. Such officials regularly arrest dangerous criminals wanted elsewhere for murder and other felonies, confine them temporarily and release them to continue a criminal career.

States with State bureaus make it mandatory that every police official take the fingerprints not only of men convicted but of every man arrested who is suspected of being a criminal, and forward a copy of all prints both to the State and national bureau. In such States dangerous fugitives, temporarily confined, are identified, held and returned to serve sentence for their previous crimes.

When properly organized a State bureau provides for four functions: the identification of arrested suspects as wanted criminals or criminals with previous records; the recovery of missing property; the investigation of unusual or involved crimes; and the apprehension of criminals.

An extensive list of fingerprints, photographs and descriptions of known criminals, with their past records, is necessary for the effective operation of a State bureau. To this end reports of criminals arrested, convicted, escaped or wanted for crimes committed are continuously received from all parts of the particular State, from other States having a centralized bureau, from large cities of States without State bureaus, from penal institutions, from the national identification bureau at Washington, D. C., and from foreign police.

In addition, lists are received of all property reported stolen or missing within the State and in neighboring States. All this

material is thoroughly classified and indexed so as to be readily available.

The records of criminals serve two purposes. They help police in a State to capture fugitives from justice from other parts of the same State and from other States, and they enable police to obtain confessions from guilty suspects. So, when a drunken driver questioned after his arrest in Pasadena, Cal., makes contradictory statements, he is held on general suspicion while his fingerprints are sent to the State bureau. A check of the files reveals that he is an old time burglar wanted in St. Louis, Mo. He is returned to St. Louis for conviction and confinement.

Again, a robbery is reported to the police in Ogden, Utah. Four suspects are arrested and the victim partially identifies one. The Utah bureau, on receipt of his fingerprints and details of the crime, reports him as a notorious "stick-up" man who generally operates in much the same manner as the man responsible for the Ogden job. When confronted with his record the man confesses, thereby saving the expense of a jury trial and insuring speedy justice.

Missing property is recovered by keeping a permanent file of all articles reported stolen or embezzled, and checking against this file articles pawned, pledged and recovered.

For example, in 1920 the case and movement numbers of a watch stolen in Los Angeles were reported to the bureau and filed on separate cards. Eight years later in the daily checking of pawnshop reports the movement number of the stolen watch appeared in a Sacramento list. The watch was recovered from the Sacramento pawnshop and returned to its owner.

PERSONNEL IN STATE BUREAUS.

For investigation of crimes a State bureau keeps on its staff specialists in microscopy, handwriting, chemistry, photography, ballistics and the like. These experts are of particular service to smaller and outlying departments. A telegram and payment of actual traveling expenses make them available when needed.

Supplementing the work of the investigators are experienced detectives, assigned to cases by their chief and remaining on the

cases until relieved, empowered to follow a criminal anywhere necessary. The specific function of the detectives is to run down migratory criminals who operate over a large area of the State—safe-crackers, burglars, robbers and check-passers. Through a recurrence of similar methods of operation in crimes reported, the detectives soon determine when a migratory criminal or criminal gang is operating. Aided by investigators, they next establish the identity of the men involved, apprehend or assist local police in apprehending them, and, finally, secure their conviction.

Such, in general, are the functions of a well organized State bureau, supplementing but not overlapping the activities of regularly constituted police forces. Criminals apprehended, crimes solved and property recovered as the result of a State bureau's activity would be unapprehended, unsolved and unrecovered respectively without the State bureau.

With centralized bureaus operating throughout, a fugitive's record will be broadcast to every State and a "wanted" card filled out for him. When next he lands in jail, whether in Oregon or Rhode Island, he will be held for the former crime as well as the temporary complaint. The net result will be that every police department will indirectly work for and directly serve every other department.

Why, then, one may reasonably ask, are there not forty-eight State bureaus in the United States instead of eight? Particularly since in almost every other civilized country centralized bureaus were established forty or fifty years ago.

As soon as a positive method of establishing identity was discovered (by Bertillon, a French anthropometrist, in 1879), the first comprehensive bureau was established in Paris. In the next ten years other nations copied the system. Their bureaus were centralized for districts and divisions as well as nations and empires. They were modern, efficient and comprehensive. In the United States, on the other hand, as late as 1917 there were no true centralized bureaus and in most States there is none today.

The responsibility rests with our State legislators, who, like the backwoods farmer, delay year after year the adoption of the

newer and more successful tactics of their neighbors. Their degree of legislative "backwoodsness" is illustrated by the fight of California peace officers to secure the creation of the California bureau, the first of its kind in America.

HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA'S BUREAU.

From 1905 to 1907 California tried an experiment in centralizing criminal records which proved so valuable that peace officers attempted in 1907 to have the State legislature convert this central clearing-house into a full-fledged criminal identification bureau. The legislature obligingly passed the bill, but failed to grant any appropriation. Since the old bureau had been abandoned to make way for the new, this deprived police officials of any bureau.

Law-enforcing officers were in a curious dilemma. The records of their respective departments were unsatisfactory. Migratory criminals were making inroads throughout the State; unrecovered property was mounting up. The officers, knowing the remedy, were helpless because the legislature would not grant them the machinery necessary to coordinate their efforts.

During the following ten years successive fights were waged at the State Capitol to secure a centralized bureau. It was not until 1917, however, when the district attorneys and identification officers joined forces with the sheriffs and police, that the desired legislation was passed. And it was not the merits of the measure so much as "playing politics" that finally secured the bureau—with a joker in it. Though the bureau as provided was to be the "California State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation," a limited appropriation forced the Board of Managers to omit the investigation half. And now, ten years later, this investigation phase is still omitted.

Even with this handicap, its existence has been strikingly justified. In the year ended in January, 1928, maintenance of the bureau cost \$37,776, as against \$1,253,205 of stolen property recovered and returned to rightful owners, property which would never have been recovered without the bureau. Thus one section alone made a 3,000 per cent. profit for the bureau.

Results of the ten-year period ending

January, 1928, are now available. Each year the amassing of additional records increases the value of the bureau. For example, in the first six months of its existence \$19,015 of stolen property was recovered at a total cost of \$12,965; in the same period in 1927 returns were thirty times that amount, some \$626,603 at a cost of \$18,888.

More than 7,000 men held as suspects or on minor charges by different California police officials have been identified as fugitives from other States—murderers, escaped convicts, robbers, burglars—and have been returned to these other States for imprisonment. In each case local departments had no knowledge that the man held was wanted in another case; the State bureau supplied the incriminating data. Several thousand additional suspects have been identified as wanted in other parts of California, men who committed a crime in one section, escaped, and were arrested on other charges in other parts.

Fifty-seven thousand local prisoners have been identified as men with criminal records. Many dollars have been saved by eliminating the expense of jury trials through this measure. For habitual delinquents, if guilty of the crime charged, frequently waive trial and enter a plea of guilty when confronted with the record of their prior commitments.

Approximately 1,800 embezzlers and check passers have been identified by the handwriting section, the importance of which hinges on the scope of operation of these men. In one case alone the man apprehended had passed a thousand checks, totaling some \$50,000. He worked from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in State after State, and had gone free for the two preceding years because police of the different cities had no means of coordinating their activities in tracing him.

To date, forty years after most other countries have adopted the centralization and coordination idea, and more than ten years after the creation of the first bureau in America, just seven other States—Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Oklahoma and Utah—have followed California's example, though four others have partial equivalents. In each case bureaus were created only after years of dishearten-

ing agitation by police officials. In each case the achievement has been comparable to that of California.

Why, then, is there not a bureau in every State? The cost cannot be the deterrent, for California, with a typical bureau, made enough in one year to create and maintain thirty-four bureaus for a two-year period (profit on stolen property, 1927, \$1,215,429; cost, intallation and maintenance, of first two years, \$35,000). Nor is there lack of precedent with eight States and the

rest of the civilized world to point to; nor doubt of effectiveness, with statistical reports available from existing bureaus; nor absence of cause or occasion, with the United States the most crime-infested nation on the earth.

Legislative "backwoodsness," a reluctance to change the status quo, must be the answer. An enlightened public, actively cooperating, can procure the forty delayed bureaus.

RECENT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

Success of New Motion Pictures In Color

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

COLOR motion pictures in the home have now become a reality, and July 30, 1928, when a group of distinguished guests at the home of George Eastman at Rochester, N. Y., witnessed the first demonstration of the invention, is likely to become an important date in the annals of cinematography. Fortunately the day was sunny, so that photographs could be taken in the morning to be shown on the screen in the evening. Apart from the interest in preserving portraits of a number of American scientists and inventors in various poses and in the colors of life, these pictures convinced the guests that the new method of taking color motion pictures was a decided success. The Kodacolor camera that makes this possible follows by five years the camera by which amateurs could take satisfactory motion pictures in black and white and by forty years Eastman's introduction of his first roll-film camera.

If you remember the play of colors caused by light when it falls on an old-fashioned chandelier, on a cut-glass goblet or on a corrugated glass screen, you will understand the principle of the new color camera and films. Any angular piece of any transparent material will break up plain white light into its color components and sort these according to their respective wave lengths, much as a radio receiver sorts out

the broadcasts of the various stations according to their wave lengths. A lens is simply a circular prism. It slopes down on all sides from the centre, so that various colors are thrown into rings like a rainbow instead of a straight spectrum band.

We commonly say that there are seven colors in the rainbow, but that is merely because it used to be supposed that everything in the universe was created in sets of seven. We can as well say that white light consists of a hundred or a thousand colors, for we can break it up into as many parts as we please, according to the power of our prisms. But for practical purposes three colors, suitably selected, are sufficient to reproduce any color, shade or tint of all the infinite variety of nature. The three taken together give white. Absence of all three gives black. Other combinations give various colors.

Although the eye is a marvelous mechanism it is rather slow and clumsy when required to look at things that are small and fine. Because of this clumsiness the engraver who makes illustrations and the motion picture producer are able to cheat us into thinking we see something that really does not exist. Looking at a picture in a book or paper, we imagine we see smooth gradations of shade from dark to light. But if we look at it with a micro-

scope we discover that we have been deceived and that there are no half-tones at all in this "half-tone" picture. It is composed entirely of black-and-white dots. Similarly, there are no moving pictures in the "moving pictures." What we see is a swift succession of still pictures, slightly different, which create the illusion that we are seeing movement.

So, too, the film of the Kodacolor has no color. The image is delineated on it by more or less opaque places due to more or less dense deposits of black metallic silver, as on any ordinary photographic film. But the Kodacolor differs from ordinary film in that the light coming from the original scene has been broken up into three primary colors by a filter screen in front of the lens, and then these have been caught by minute lenses on the celluloid strip before reaching the sensitive surface of silver salts. The filter is striped in red, green and blue, so that the ray of light reflected from each point of the surface of the object photographed is sifted out or allowed to pass through this tri-color screen in accordance with the proportion of the particular color it carries.

Next, the light, now split up into three bands of color, strikes the film, but from what we should call "the wrong side," for the sensitive coating is behind. The celluloid side in front has been embossed with a series of little cylindrical lenses, ridges as it were, running lengthwise of the ribbon of film. These catch the colored rays and focus them on the sensitive emulsion of the other side. Thus, we finally have a film in which the original scene in front of the camera is represented in miniature by dots or lines side by side standing for its color components. It is, in a sense, a camera inside a camera, since each tiny cylindrical lens on the front of the film takes a picture of the three parallel vertical strips of the filter in front of the camera. These lenses or corrugations on the film are so narrow as not to be discernible with the naked eye. There are 559 of them in an inch-wide strip of film, some seven times as minute as the dots that make up the photographs reproduced by the half-tone process which we see every day in our newspapers and magazines.

When the Kodacolor film is projected on

the screen by reversing the procedure by which it was taken, the picture we see really consists of red, blue and green points, but too small to be separable by the eye. Thus we see them as smooth and blended color, for the machine, like the magician, moves quicker than the eye.

LIMITED SIZE OF SCREEN

At present the new process is not applicable to the theatre because of the difficulty of obtaining enough light. Bright sunlight is essential to take the pictures in the first place, and when they are shown it is on a screen 22 by 16½ inches, thus making them suitable to small gatherings. From a distance of a few feet the perpendicular lines are not visible any more than they are in a half-tone print, and the colors fuse completely. There are no such glaring interruptions of red and green, such as interfered with the Kinemacolor when it was introduced fifteen years ago. Objects out of focus, such as the background in close-up portraits, show a slight iridescent fringe, and since this is due to optical principles it is difficult to see how it can ever be altogether obviated. From three primary colors, properly chosen and apportioned, it is theoretically possible to reproduce correctly any color in nature, and in some of these early views this ideal has been actually attained. The flesh tints of the portraits were remarkably lifelike and free from exaggeration. The admirable pictures of flowers and fruit, fish, birds, bees and butterflies, as well as animals of all sorts, showed how useful the color motion picture camera will be to the naturalist.

"One curious thing about the demonstration was the effect it had in heightening the color perception of the spectators," remarked Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, director of Science Service, after attending the demonstration on July 30. "When they passed out into the garden after watching the Kodacolor films for half an hour, the guests were noticeably more appreciative than before of the beauty of the trees, grass and flowers. Of course, the Eastman gardens would attract attention any time, but there was much more surprise and admiration expressed than customary, and men could be heard commenting on the color of each other's neckties, as well as on the women's

dressess, in terms complimentary or otherwise, as the case might be."

Among those at the demonstration was Thomas A. Edison, whose close and lasting connection with George Eastman began forty years ago. It was in August, 1889, that Eastman sent to Edison the first samples of the flexible photographic film that solved the problem of the motion picture. "In the year 1887," Edison has said, "the idea occurred to me that it was possible to devise an instrument which should do for the eye what the phonograph does for the ear, and that by a combination of the two, all motion and sound could be recorded and reproduced simultaneously." And he expressed the belief that in the coming years "grand opera can be given at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York without any material change from the original, and with artists and musicians long since dead."

Edison himself received the germ of his idea from a toy of his childhood, the Zoetrope, in which a rotating paper panorama gave a fleeting illusion of motion to those who peeped through the slits of the drum. Edison first tried to produce motion pictures by means of microscopic photographs arranged spirally on a circular glass plate like a phonograph disk record. But such

a series was too small and short, and he did not progress far until the Eastman Kodak Company at Rochester had succeeded in sensitizing the gelatine coating of a strip of cellulose nitrate in unlimited length. With this film Edison equipped his peep-show kinetoscope, which promptly became popular. In 1895 he attempted to synchronize the film with the phonograph, but the problem of the combination of sight and sound was not solved sufficiently to satisfy the public until the present year, when several forms of "talky-movies" are competing for favor.

Motion pictures in natural colors was also one of the problems which Edison attempted in the last century, but which was not satisfactorily solved until the present. He tried hand-painted films in 1896. But nothing spectacular appeared in this field until 1910, when Charles Urban showed his Kinemacolor at Brighton, England. This was a two-color process, red and green being taken and projected alternately by means of a rotating disk of tinted filters. Because an image on the retina persists for about a sixteenth of a second before it fades away, each color fused with the succeeding one, except when movement was too fast. But when a horse was running the

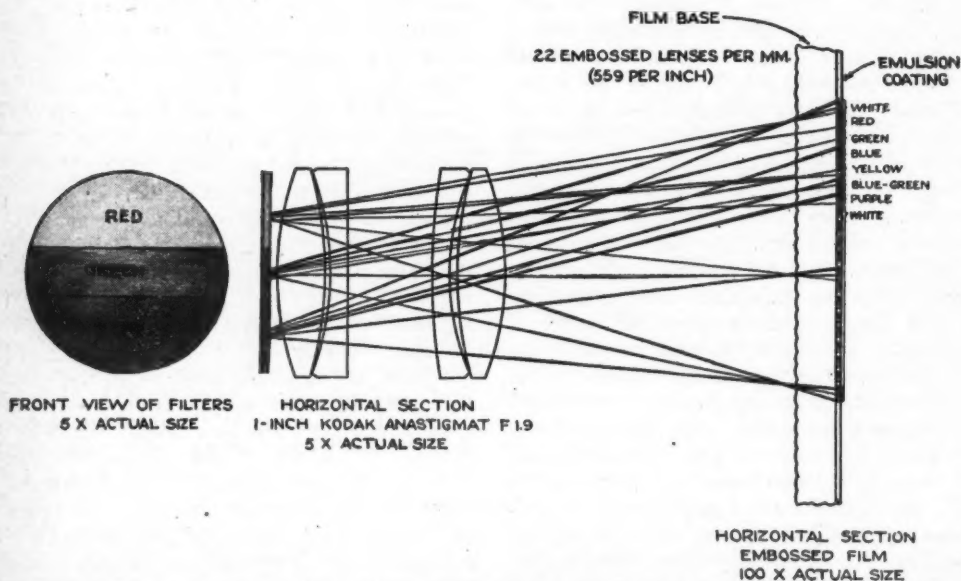


Diagram showing construction of the Kodacolor camera for taking motion pictures in color

legs showed alternately a glaring red and green, which somewhat impaired the illusion. The most popular of the Kinemacolor films was that of the *Durbar at Delhi*, India, in 1912.

COLOR PHOTOGRAPHY PROBLEM

The Gaumont process was more scientific but also more complicated, for it employed three pictures taken in the three primary colors by three lenses on the same film and projected through three objectives. For still pictures taken on glass plates it has been found possible to get satisfactory color effects by the use of ruled lines or dots or scattered starch grains in two or three colors, but these are apt to show their pattern when enlarged to the size of the theatre screen.

The more recent inventions—the Prizma, Technicolor and Kodachrome processes—also use two complementary colors, but on the opposite sides of the same double-coated strip. Each side represents the scene as photographed through a tinted filter of that color, and the white light shining through the two colored films takes the hue and design of both and throws the combination on the screen. The two colors are so selected as to cover singly or in varying proportions all the tints and shades of the original scene as nearly as any two colors can. A red inclined to orange and a green inclined to blue are the two generally chosen.

All processes depending upon dyes are, however, more or less defective. The ideal method would be to employ the principle of the prism, which converts white light into a band of pure colors and can as readily recombine them. The advantages of this was first pointed out in 1869 by a Frenchman, Charles Cros, who said: "The synthesis by refraction gives one of the most elegant solutions of the problem. * * * Thus one will have the reproduction of a natural object, either direct in the eye or on a screen. This solution is remarkable in that the result does not depend on an artificially colored product. The colors are thus transformed under purely geometrical conditions and these conditions generate again in turn the colors. The apparatus only gives back in this way what it re-

ceives." Dozens of inventors have tried to apply the principle of the prism to color photography since it was first suggested, nearly seventy years ago. Among the devices employed were shifting prisms, diffraction gratings or slits, micro-spectroscopes, pinhole screens, multiple lenses and corrugated filters or films. The new Eastman process, the Kodacolor, combines the corrugated film with a three-color filter.

The Kodacolor is largely based upon certain French processes of which, it is understood, the Eastman Company acquired the rights. In 1909 R. Berthon patented a filter with bands of red, green and blue-violet, and in 1914 A. Keller Dorian patented a film on which impressions were made with a minute lens structure by passing celluloid between a smooth cylinder and a cylinder engraved with the desired design. The combined process, known as the K. D. B. system, produced pictures that made a favorable impression when exhibited in Paris in 1923. A camera has further been invented in France capable of taking stereoscopic photographs by this process, so that it is possible to obtain pictures in their natural colors and true perspective. A still earlier anticipation of the essential principle was made by that fertile American inventor, F. E. Ives, who in 1900 proposed to get tri-color effects by interposing a corrugated glass screen, but the ridges were prismatic rather than curved, as in the new form.

In 1867 Charles Cros deposited with the French Academy of Sciences a sealed envelope containing the fundamental principles of tri-color photography. Almost simultaneously with this another French scientist, Ducos du Hauron, arrived at substantially the same conclusions, and their papers of 1862-9 contain the main points of the theory and many of its subsequent applications as well as anticipations not yet realized. From theory to practicality is a long and laborious journey, requiring the combined skill of many minds. For the final steps in the development which has resulted in making a camera that can be placed in any one's hands, credit should be given to Dr. C. E. K. Mees and his staff of experts in the Eastman Kodak Company.

Obstacles to Anglo-American Friendship

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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TO "take an interest in things" is one of the early duties inculcated in the minds of American youth. That involves in this day of international complications an interest in distant continents, inhabited by sister and rival nations. In general the press of the large cities in the United States publish something every day on the purposes and action of foreign countries, and particularly of Great Britain. The great metropolitan dailies keep up with foreign affairs by news items, articles and editorials. American readers feed on reports of the League of Nations and international pacts of peace as well as accounts of public occurrences overseas.

The United States of America is the richest and readiest customer of several European nations, and is especially important to Great Britain. Yet in the London dailies, including the once majestic *Times* not half a column a day is devoted to any American question, except stock quotations. The *Manchester Guardian*, which passes as the one survivor of the old journalistic tradition, in a recent issue printed nothing on American life or policies or relations to England, except a brief account of the effect of "talking movies," and a briefer comment on the action of the Federal prohibition authorities on the night clubs of New York City, which it represented to be a mean attempt of the Republican Party to hold New York City up to obloquy.

Doubtless the ruling classes in England do attempt to comprehend American points of view. The Ministry is the active political force, especially in external affairs, and expresses substantially a reflex of the collective opinion of the titled and untitled aristocracy, the churchmen of high rank, and the upper middle class, including university magnates and university men.

Closely allied is what in America is called "big business."

English public affairs also are neglected by the English press, which still keeps up the tradition of treating in great detail all phases of sport and athletics. When Parliament is not in session and no elections are in progress, very little space is given in English newspapers to politics. The same difficulty is now manifesting itself in the United States in the drying up of the old country newspapers, which used to fight political battles as party organs, but which are now being gathered into syndicates of chain papers. This decay of local political organs is noticeable also in Great Britain. The same indifference to what the United States as a nation really does or thinks is visible in other European countries, perhaps in greater degree.

Nobody quarrels with other countries for lack of interest in the great western land overseas; the real trouble is that thinking Englishmen are at heart intensely interested in the wishes, purposes and feelings of the people of the United States.

This vivid interest in the United States, combined with a vivid neglect of means to satisfy that interest, is a curious phenomenon, for the British Empire is now entering upon a period of profound uneasiness in which it is very dangerous not to have an informed public sentiment to support the skilled and well-founded statesmanship for which England has for a hundred years been famous. In imperial affairs the nation is affected by that highly contagious disease "self-determinationitis." The setting up of the Irish Free State, while a great advantage, by removing from Parliament a troublesome third party, is an example interesting to other racial minorities. Wales has never parted with its hereditary language, which is in common use among considerable sections of the population. The flourishing city of

Cardiff would not be averse to being capital, metropolis and chief outport of a Welsh Free State, though there seems to be no special grievance against the English. The Scotch have been incorporated into Great Britain only about two centuries. If a Free Wales and a Free Scotland, why not a Free Isle of Man? Where would the federation begin or end?

This is, of course, a fanciful idea, but Great Britain is now facing in its four principal overseas possessions, Canada, Australia, South Africa and India, a separatist tendency never before experienced. The World War revealed the devotion of all four to the Empire; and none of the four has as yet a large enough population combined with the political training which would make independence possible. Each of them has internal racial or religious stresses—French-English in Canada; Moslem-Hindu in India; white man—all the colored races in Australia; and white against black in South Africa. Independence is nowhere the dominant note.

To Americans who have behind them the tradition of a Western frontier, the social attitude of the dominant Englishman toward the outlying children of the mother country is startling. Colonialists, born in England, and their children, born in the dependencies, are not received in England as on the same social basis as the native born, despite the fact that thinking Englishmen see that the future of the Empire must be imperiled by any standing cause of hatred or prejudice. And notwithstanding the great individual cordiality of many Englishmen and Englishwomen to visitors, Americans in England are not revisiting their old homes—they are calling on acquaintances.

American diplomats and consuls, of course, are recognized as within the social pale; and vigorous and successful men of affairs, such as the late J. P. Morgan, come within the same accepted category. Some of them enjoy the inaccessibility of the elevated classes of England. Some of the English flunkys, who guard the approaches to Consuls or Ambassadors, have all the airs of fending off a Cook's tourist from a royal duke.

Hence the "Hands Across the Sea" movement is less effective than its found-

ers expected. All credit is due to the men and women, on both sides of the Atlantic, who have tendered to visitors interest and hospitality, receiving them cordially and trying to make clear the good will and common interest of the two countries.

All these efforts collide with a difficulty which does not naturally occur to the visiting American. It is the same difficulty that is encountered by Englishmen meeting their fellow countrymen on the Continent. Since social progress in England depends on climbing, the Englishman who was born high up or has climbed high up is always wary of making a new acquaintance, lest when he returns to England the social inferior might try to "pull the leg" of the social superior. The upper classes in England become upper and remain upper because they are wary of alliances of any kind with outsiders. The Englishman does not understand that the man from Kalamazoo, who plays poker with him on the steamer, has not the slightest desire to knock at the front door of his ducal mansion in London. All the Kalamazoodle wants is a pleasant time with a good fellow.

Just now an American gentleman of the eighteenth century, namely, George Washington, is an international factor. The English are well aware that this greatest American was great grandson of an English immigrant, and that his direct and collateral lineage includes at least thirteen generations of dwellers in England. The coat of arms which was on his signet ring is found in more than sixty places in England.

A few years ago a great opportunity arose to create an American shrine in England and plant the seeds of national understandings by the purchase of Sulgrave Manor, once the seat of Laurence Washington, notable direct ancestor of George Washington. Large sums were raised in the United States. The purchase was made. From day to day the Stars and Stripes floats over the mansion, along with the Union Jack. Unfortunately, somebody slipped a cog. A corporation known as the Sulgrave Institution, composed chiefly of Englishmen, raised the necessary money, bought the estate and carry it on as a unilateral bond of fellow-

ship. The Daughters of the Revolution raised a fund of \$100,000, the interest of which goes for the upkeep. The American funds were used in considerable part for "international service," a euphemism for a system of bringing over titled and other English folk for visits to America. The "Hands Across the Sea" seem to have failed to convey the grip of international love.

Still George Washington is an international asset. For his rugged American virtues and his remarkable business qualities had prototypes among his English ancestors. One of his cleverer progenitors shrewdly married a Kitson, father of Sir Thomas Kitson, whose success in establishing a highly profitable industry in wool reminds one of the success of John Jacob Astor in the fur trade. From those English Washingtons, who were knights and fighting men, perhaps came his military capacity, from the allied families his grace of manner, from the Kitsons his business sagacity, and from them all and from his native character his greatness.

To the Englishman the American Washingtons are, after all, Colonials, departures from the normal course of English gentlemen. Times are hard in England, and yet the English spirit carries the nation along. Outside the great commercial and manufacturing cities, one sees little evidence of poverty and distress. The wounds of the war are closing.

Still there comes to the nation every day a sense of danger. A recent sham battle in the air over London gave convincing proof that any foreign enemy may cross the Channel or the North Sea, if superior or equal in force to the British. The

air attack has progressed beyond any air defense except it be strongly preponderant. England is no longer sea girt; and any Western continental country is equally exposed to English attack. The only way to protect London is to destroy Paris or Berlin.

Hence the eagerness with which Secretary Kellogg's proposal for outlawry of war has been received, particularly by England. If it were possible, a formal alliance with the United States would thrill Great Britain. Nevertheless, neither the press nor the visits of Americans nor George Washington nor "international service" to chosen English folk brings that agreement within the range of possibility. British statesmen understand that the lack of "newspaper sense" prevents their people from realizing the situation and aims of the United States. A very distinguished British diplomat once remarked: "You Americans are a very hard people to run away from," that is, in international difficulties the State Department does not make a change of front easy.

Against the positive hostility of the United States Great Britain is reasonably safe. To retain that position the British Government makes no protest against the powers exercised by the United States in the Caribbean and Central America and China. Since no alliance, or condominium of desired regions, can be possible, it is for the manifest interest of the British Government to avoid controversies. Hence the acceptance of the Kellogg plan. Meanwhile, it would be well if the average Briton permitted himself to be better acquainted with American ideas and ideals.



Aerial Events of the Month

*Byrd Antarctic Expedition—Flight of Hassell and Cramer—
New Flight Record Established—Del Prete Tragedy*

THIRTY-TWO argonauts set sail in the City of New York—the rechristened Norwegian ice ship *Samson*—on Aug. 25 from Hoboken, N. J., on the Byrd Antarctic Expedition. After two years the preparations had been completed, personnel selected, funds collected, equipment tested and supplies accumulated.

It was in the Summer of 1926, just after the Byrd-Bennett flight over the North Pole, that Commander Richard Evelyn Byrd then in Spitsbergen consulted Roald Amundsen, first man to reach the South Pole, about plans for a South Polar expedition. How should he prepare for an extended sojourn in the Antarctic country? To his questions Amundsen replied with advice about clothing and equipment, and with Amundsen's help, Commander Byrd found the all-important item, his ship, the *Samson* at Tromsø, Norway. The ship was then brought to the United States and renovated, the expedition organized with luxurious headquarters in New York, a budget for expenditures estimated at \$855,000, and a second ship, the *Chelsea*, renamed the *Edith Bolling* in honor of Commander Byrd's mother, and four planes purchased.

The planes include a tri-motored, all-metal Ford monoplane, the *Floyd Bennett*; a Fairchild cabin plane, the *Stars and Stripes*; a Fokker Universal, the *Virginia*, and a small three-place monoplane of the General Aircraft Company. It is these planes that will be sent out after the arrival of the entire expedition and the construction of a base in Antarctica on voyages of scientific discovery in the southern iceland.

The purpose of the expedition is to determine scientific facts regarding this new and unexplored continent Antarctica. Attempts will be made to solve these questions:

What is the course and the cause of those strange storms that howl out of the South and die away so suddenly? What is the depth of the great ice cap which covers a

territory the size of the United States? Are the great mountain ranges there connected with the Andean system? Are there two continents, divided by an ice stream, or only one? Is it possible to determine in the Antarctic how the negative electrical charge of the earth is replenished? What causes the Aurora, that strange and beautiful phenomenon, which can be studied in the South even better than in the North? Is Antarctica divided?

In order to answer these questions, scientists of varied and wide experience have been included in the party. Lawrence M. Gould, Professor of Geology at the University of Michigan; William G. Haines, meteorologist of the United States Weather Bureau; F. T. Davies, physicist of McGill University; Malcolm P. Hanson of the Naval Research Laboratory and Lloyd Berkner, radio engineer of the United States Bureau of Standards, are members of the expedition. Geographers, physicists, geologists, glaciologists, meteorologists, topographers, aerologists and photographers have already mapped out their programs of scientific investigation.

In these explorations the four planes will be of the greatest value. They will be used for long distance investigation, for the marking of spots where detailed fossil and mineral studies can be made between the icy peaks, and for securing meteorological data rapidly at high altitudes. Planes will be supplemented with 100 dogs and dog sledges, and with tractors for iceland travel.

Beside the scientific aspects of the expedition, the daily life of the group, isolated from the rest of the world for a two-year period, has been a subject of great moment to those who made the plans. The health of the crew will be carefully guarded. Recreation has been provided in moving pictures, a well-equipped library and music in various forms, including a ship's band. For safety's sake the crew has taken every precaution against disaster and to assist in rescue. That airplanes and up-to-date radio

equipment will enable the crew to extricate itself from all possible difficulties is the belief held by Commander Byrd.

It was a gala scene at the pier when the City of New York started on her seventy-day voyage. The 200 tons of cargo were stowed away and the crew were receiving the farewells of their relatives and friends. Commander Byrd himself was aboard to accompany the vessel as far as Ambrose Light, returning to New York to supervise the final preparations, the sailing of the Edith Bolling with her cargo of the four planes and two pilots—Bernt Balchen, companion of Byrd on his transatlantic flight in 1927, and Harold G. Gatty—and to gather together his party who are to sail from Los Angeles in October. Airplanes zoomed overhead, flying low to wave farewell greeting to the adventurers on the City of New York, bands were playing as the square-rigged vessel put out to sea. Not far down the harbor three stowaways were brought to light. One of them, a negro, Robert White Lanier, by his grit and plea that he "wanted to be the first black fellow to get to the bottom of the world," won the Commander's permission to go on with the party.

FLIGHT OF THE GREATER ROCKFORD

After a crash and a three-week wait while their plane, the Greater Rockford, a Stinson-Detroiter monoplane, was repaired, Bert Hassell and his co-pilot, Parker Cramer, took off on Aug. 16 on the first leg of their hop from Rockford, Ill., to Stockholm, Sweden. Seven hours later they came down at Cochrane, Ontario, their first stop, after a flight of 800 miles. For two days the weather held them up, but on Aug. 18 they took off once more on the most dangerous leg of their flight, across the North Atlantic to Mount Evans, Greenland, 1,600 miles at a stretch. At Mount Evans preparations for the reception and send-off of the fliers had been under way for many weeks. Professor W. H. Hobbs, leader of the University of Michigan Greenland Expedition, had long been certain that the air route over the North Atlantic with stops in Greenland and Iceland would in the future be far more expedient and safer than the routes followed thus far by transatlantic fliers. The hazard due to the fact that no

reserve of fuel supply can be carried by planes on account of its excess weight, would be entirely eliminated by the fact that refueling stations in Greenland and Iceland could be made transoceanic stops. For this reason he became interested in the flight of the Greater Rockford and lent to it the full cooperation of his Greenland base.

Despite the carefully laid plans no signal came from the plane, no sign of its approach was reported by the keen-eyed Eskimo lookout who had been stationed on a peak, looking over the ice toward the southwest. There followed days of bleak, icy silence. "Another tragedy," sighed the world while three nations prepared rescue expeditions to comb the North Atlantic. But on Aug. 23 came word that natives at the town of Fiskernaes in Greenland had sighted a plane flying low which bore the markings of the Greater Rockford. Rescue efforts were therefore brought to a feverish pitch in Greenland particularly along the ice arms of the shore. Finally, on Sept. 2, in response to smoke signals which the lost pilots sent up from the ice, Hassell and Cramer were located by Eskimos and were rescued and taken to the Mount Evans base. Hassell stated that they had been wandering on the ice searching for the Mount Evans base for two weeks since that Sunday when the people of Fiskernaes had seen them flying overhead. The fliers had been blown off their course by a severe northwest storm off Cape Chidley and, owing to their attempts to find their bearings, had used up their gasoline, and were forced to land on the ice. From there they set out to reach the station afoot thinking that it would take them about twenty-four hours. Difficulties and hardships dogged them at every step. They were forced to cross icy streams, travel across deep crevasses, climb mountains and cope with quicksand and mirages. At one time they felt sure that they heard the hum of a motor and scanned the skies for a possible plane. Seeing nothing they decided in their disappointment that the noise had been the singing of mosquitos. To their overjoyed amazement they saw heading toward them the outboard motor of their friends at the base camp. Their rations had consisted of eight ounces of pemmican a day, but in spite of this and the enforced hardships which they suffered, the

two pilots seemed in excellent physical condition. The fliers, at the suggestion of Professor Hobbs, will accompany the University of Michigan expedition when it returns to the United States in October.

NEW CROSS-CONTINENTAL RECORD

Another record of aviation was set during August when Arthur Goebel, starting from Los Angeles, made a non-stop flight to New York in 18 hours and 58 minutes. Flying the Yankee Doodle, a white Lockheed-Vega monoplane, "Art" Goebel, famous winner of the Dole race to Hawaii in 1927, left Mines Field, Los Angeles, on Aug. 19, at 4:06 P. M., Eastern Daylight Time, with Harry Tucker, backer of the flight. Taking the Southern route over Arizona and New Mexico, Goebel hoped to establish the new record across the continent at twenty hours. He had perfect weather for the greater part of the flight, but struck a fifty-mile side wind over Ohio. Nevertheless, he brought his plane down at Curtiss Field, L. I., at 11:04 A. M. on Aug. 20, establishing a new record, and breaking the record of 26 hours 50 minutes and 38 seconds for a non-stop cross-continent flight held by the army fliers Kelly and Macready for a flight made from east to west in May, 1928.

DISASTER OF MERRILL AND RONNE

A master of the science of aviation and the craft of flying, a teacher of many a young pilot, met his death while flying in a dense fog. Mezel M. (Merry) Merrill, the director of the Curtiss Flying Service, with Edwin Ronne, manager of the Buffalo Airport, both expert aviators and both familiar with the ground over which they flew, started from the Buffalo Airport on Aug. 28 in the orange Falcon biplane built for Colonel Lindbergh to use in his flights for the Transcontinental Air Transport, Inc. They were taking the plane to Curtiss Field, L. I., when a thick fog settled down over central New York, causing army pilots who had started out from the Buffalo Air-

port at about the same time to come down at Port Jervis, N. Y. Little anxiety was felt that night, since fliers who knew the aviators had the utmost confidence in their ability to cope with any flying contingency. At daybreak, however, when no word of Merrill and Ronne reached Curtiss Field, C. S. (Casey) Jones, President of the Curtiss Flying Service, organized a search for the missing fliers. Army and navy fliers came to aid the search, and pilots of every kind of plane, commercial and passenger, offered their services to help in looking for the man who had given aid in every sort of flying emergency. They scoured the countryside and were finally successful in locating the scene of the crash. Striking the side of a wooded mountain in Pike County, Pa., not far from the New York line, the fliers had met an immediate death. Flying at a high rate of speed through the "thick weather" they had had no warning of approaching peril and the entire tragedy had occurred with lightning speed. The bodies of the two aviators were discovered mutilated and burned a few feet distant where the fuselage had been thrown after the plane had struck the ground with terrific force.

DEATH OF DEL PRETE

Major Carlo del Prete, who, with Captain Arturo Ferrarin in a transatlantic flight from Italy to Brazil, set the world's non-stop distance record at 4,475 miles, crashed in a flight at the School of Naval Aviation in Rio de Janeiro, and died on Aug. 16 as a result of the amputation of his right leg. After a flight from Natal, where they were forced to land, the fliers received a welcoming ovation in Rio de Janeiro in recognition of their achievement. A round of entertainment there included a special flight on Aug. 7 at the School of Naval Aviation. As they were testing their plane in preparation for this flight, the plane crashed. Captain Ferrarin suffered injuries in the neck and jaw, while both of Major del Prete's legs were fractured.



Effect of Anti-War Treaty on American Foreign Policy

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

"THE United States," recently said a well-known European statesman in discussing the Kellogg treaty an Associated Press correspondent, "holds everything in the hollow of her hands." By and large, there is no doubt that this is the case. Obviously there are limits to our power, and it is not to be exercised unchecked; but to an extent possibly quite as great as in the year of the war, an intelligent, unselfish, idealistic, if you please, policy enunciated and pressed by our Government would have behind it a driving force and before it a generally receptive opinion that gives us a supreme opportunity. The possession of power so great as is ours carries with it a corresponding obligation. The moral imperative, if rightly stated and understood, is far more powerful in the political life of a democracy than is any other. It is, in fact, only by transposing an economic or purely political issue into a moral key that the democracy can be moved. Self-interest may be and generally is in the background, but it is the moral argument that wins. That only can arouse popular enthusiasm.

There are signs on every hand that we are slowly recovering from the cynicism, the disillusionment and depression that always follow a long war. We are becoming discontented with the purely material phase through which we have been passing. Whether we are ready for positive action remains to be seen. Time and time again in our history we have proved the compelling force of the knightly motto, *noblesse oblige*. Under leadership which fully comprehends this obligation and is able to frame it in vital terms, we can again resume that pre-eminence in world affairs that has been seriously prejudiced during the last few years.

In the present situation our national self-interest runs alongside our moral duty. We have an economic stake in the peace of the

world that is not limited to the billions of actual foreign investment and of foreign public debt, but which includes a large share of all those values that are traded on the exchange. To an extent far greater than in 1914, the economic structure of the world is unitary. Despite the artificial walls created by tariffs, trade knows no national boundaries. The post-war tariff system was effective only in hampering the natural course of trade and creating here plethora and unduly low prices, there scarcity and prices unduly high, in both cases, distress; it did not and it could not restrain those inexorable forces which trade itself creates. The documents and the discussions of the Economic Conference demonstrate these facts beyond cavil.

A prosperous America demands a foreign market; a strong foreign market can only be maintained if the rest of the world has the money to buy or the commodities to exchange for what we have to sell; the world can have this purchasing power only if it has peace. Unless unforeseen events modify the situation, it will be two generations before the bills of the last war will have been paid. There is no hope for the recovery at any time of the investments in Government funds, in private stocks and bonds, which in most of the European countries were virtually repudiated by stabilization. A generation riddled by death, mutilation and disease, towns and districts laid waste, priceless works of art, the heritage of the ages, destroyed, these are a part of the price that the world has had to pay for the madness of war.

Facts such as these give to the treaty which was signed at Paris on Aug. 27 (as described elsewhere in this magazine) an importance that can hardly be overemphasized. No one in his senses believes that this act of sovereign Powers will of itself put an end to war. It is a step, a long one, we believe, on the road that leads to

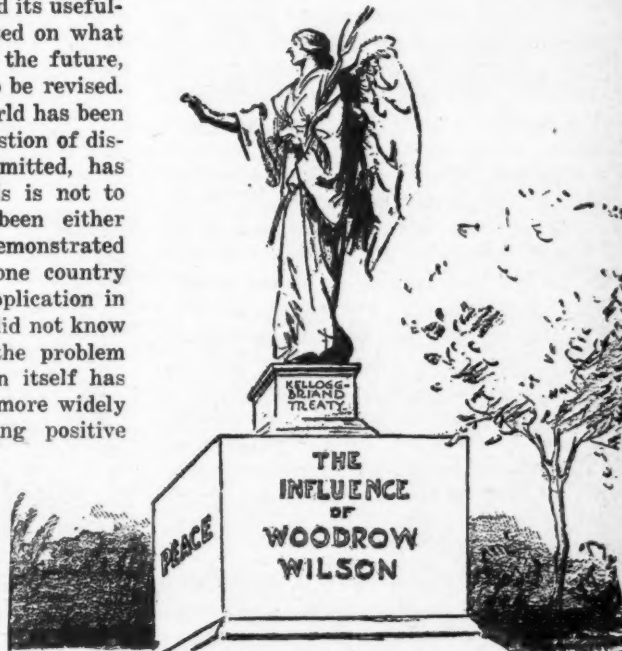
peace. If the treaty means anything at all it signifies that the nations are in accord in admitting the futility, the senselessness of war, and have set for themselves the difficult task of providing a substitute. By its terms the treaty has not eliminated a single cause of war. It has not lessened the tension between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, between Italy and Austria, between Poland and Lithuania. It has not restored colonies to Germany, or done anything to solve the puzzling problems involved in the establishment of a new China. Italy still shouts that she must be provided with larger resources and, for home consumption at least, rattles the sword in the scabbard. Her press, almost alone among those of European countries, continues to sneer at the treaty. Germany demands a determination of the total of her reparation obligation and the evacuation of the Rhineland. France still refuses to ratify the Mellon-Bérenger agreement, and all Europe unites with her in pressing for a reconsideration of the whole subject of war indebtedness. The Dawes Plan, admittedly tentative in character, a platform on which to stand while the finances of Europe were being reconstructed, has amply demonstrated its usefulness; but its formulas were based on what were at best guesses regarding the future, and the whole plan may have to be revised.

For a number of years the world has been struggling with the difficult question of disarmament, and, it must be admitted, has made little real progress. This is not to say that the discussion has been either futile or purposeless. It has demonstrated that a formula applicable in one country may be entirely unsuited for application in another. We know now, as we did not know before, what the elements in the problem actually are; and the discussion itself has created a more intelligent and more widely popular demand that something positive should be done to relieve the world, not only from the crushing burden thrown on national budgets, but from the menace which inevitably attends the existence of armed forces beyond the requirements of police duty.

If the treaty is to be effective peaceful means must be

found for the settlement of these and similar questions. So interwoven are national interests that the determination of a proper policy toward them requires a completely cooperating world. Isolation is no longer possible. A single Power which refuses to agree, and to act by virtue of the agreement, may disrupt a laboriously found solution and vitiate it. It is perfectly proper, it is indeed essential, that the national point of view in regard to each of these questions should be fully set forth. It is imperative that, when once the statement is made, there should be a willingness to compromise. The power of the larger nations must be used with restraint. The old problem of the irresistible force meeting the immovable object has never yet been found to yield to satisfactory solution.

Doubtless it will be years before these compromises are fully effected, and it is equally sure that no perfectly just nor completely satisfactory formulas will be found. A good deal of needless political pessimism is based on impatience, on a lack of a proper understanding of the fundamental fact that democracies move very slowly. It is only



THE FOUNDATION STONE

—New York World



SAMSON AND DELILAH
—Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

step by step that results are attained. Political leaders must proceed cautiously, many times much more slowly than they would. Insight and courage are necessary and the stock of these commodities is never at any time very large. At their heels is always a yelping band of well-meaning diehards, to whom any concession is treason to the national interest; and with them runs an equally unpleasant pack of equally well-meaning radicals who insist that because the leader refuses to adopt their full program, he is either lacking in proper intelligence or is dishonest. The responsible administrator realizes that he must move from A to B before he can progress from B to C, and that Z is no more to be reached at a single bound than is heaven. A moment sometimes comes when, under the impulse of some national emotion or of some unusual events, he may be able to jump some of the stages in the progression, but this does not happen very often.

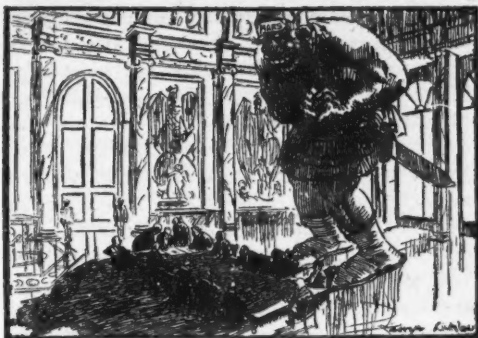
It is particularly necessary to keep these primary facts in mind in judging the conduct of our own foreign policy. There are many, of whom the writer is one, who believe that a great and a grievous mistake

was made in 1920. Whether this is true or not does not greatly matter. The fact is that, beginning with that date, we attempted to pursue a policy of isolation. "The League," said Mr. Harding, "is dead." Courteous notes addressed by it to our State Department were pigeonholed. As time went on we discovered that Mr. Harding was mistaken, and that the organization seated at Geneva was very much alive and was steadily growing in power and influence. It could no longer be ignored, and its notes were resurrected from the files and answered. Since that time our cooperation has steadily increased, until today there is scarcely one of its important conferences at which we are not represented. We still maintain our theoretical isolation, but it is fictitious. It is only on the Council and at the Assembly that our voice is not heard. Whether we shall ever assume our proper place there is for the future to determine.

If, in promoting the new treaty, we are making something more than a gesture, to be dismissed by the rest of the world later with scornful laughter, we are serving notice that we are prepared for still further cooperation; that, in some measure at least, we are willing to support the members of the League in their efforts to prevent and to suppress war. We do not assume, as they have done, any legal obligation to do so. We leave ourselves perfectly free to determine, in each instance, what our atti-



"THEY MOST ASSUME WHO KNOW THE LEAST"
—Washington Post



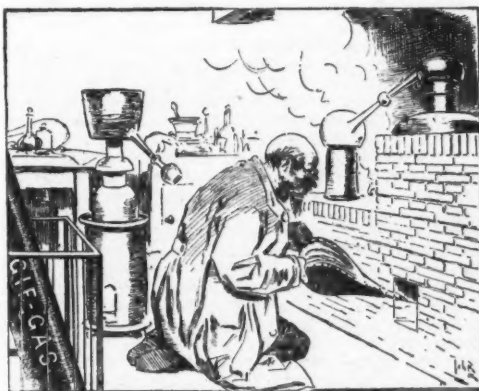
THE WARNING SHADOW

The Signing of the Treaty Renouncing War in Paris on Aug. 27, 1928.

—John Bull, London

tude is to be; but we can hardly be either indifferent or neutral. Should we fail to give the League our support, we would cover ourselves with ignominy.

How far this is understood by the country at large is difficult to say. To many, no doubt, the treaty seems nothing more than an expression of one of those moral ideas which we are so fond of spreading on our statute books and then ignoring. It can hardly have this aspect in responsible governmental circles in Washington. We disclaim, it is true, any intention to modify our present policy, and President Coolidge, in his American Legion speech, took pains to declare that the treaty would have no effect on our naval program or policy.



APPLYING THE KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY

Poison Gas Maker: "I must get busy; this is for a war of defense."

—De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

While this statement was disappointing to those who had hoped for a more courageous declaration, politically it may have been wise. The immediate task of the Administration is the ratification of the treaty, and to that end every energy must be directed.



HUSH! WE CANNOT HEAR THE PEACE SONG

Pessimistic peace advocates say they cannot hear the Kellogg glee party for the clang of riveters working on the Singapore naval base and the roar of aeroplanes rehearsing over London for "the next war."

—Bulletin, Glasgow, Scotland

It is probably wise not to cloud the main issue by the introduction of others controversial in character. When the treaty comes into force, the various subordinate questions can be presented and discussed on their own merits.

There are certain writers, some fairly prominent, who argue that the treaty should not be ratified because it means one thing on the other side of the Atlantic, another on this. If this is so, it is merely that nationally we are uninformed. That there are differences of interpretation is true, but this is the fact regarding most treaties. Attempted precision of statement

has its dangers as well as its opposite. Clever diplomats can nullify the most precise language, if they set themselves to do so and if they have the support of public opinion. It will be quite as difficult to escape the implications of the present treaty as it would one in which provision had seemingly been made for every possible emergency. The important thing is the establishment of the principle that hereafter war is internationally bad form. That is a great step in advance. Other things will follow, for they can hardly be escaped.

The world is sick of war. At this moment it is burdened by an annual expenditure of \$3,500,000,000 for armaments, to say nothing of the tremendous debts still unpaid for past wars. The Army and the

Navy, the chemists and the engineers, promise us that the next war will be one of extermination. Whole cities are to be annihilated by bombs from the air and their populations asphyxiated by poison gas. The whiff of it that blew over Hamburg a few weeks ago is a faint warning of what is sure to happen. To escape from the inevitably destructive forces that our so-called civilization has created is the task of the next generation, and toward its accomplishment every energy must be directed. Intelligence, courage, real leadership will be necessary. Progress will be made, not by any millennial action either by the League or by any single international conference, but slowly, haltingly, painfully, step by step.

BRIAND'S SPEECH ON THE ANTI-WAR TREATY

M. BRIAND'S speech delivered to the plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty renouncing war in Paris on Aug. 27 was as follows:

Gentlemen, I am fully conscious that silence would best befit such a solemn occasion. What I should like without any further words would be to let each of you simply rise from his seat to go and affix his signature in the name of his own country to the greatest collective deed born of peace. But I should be failing in my duty to my country if I did not tell you how deeply it feels the honor of welcoming the first signatories of a general pact for the renunciation of war.

If the honor has been left to France as acknowledgment of the moral standing she enjoys thanks to her constant effort in the cause of peace, I gladly accept such tribute on behalf of the Government of the French Republic and I express the gratification of the whole people, happy that the inmost recesses of their national psychology should at last be understood by the world.

While extending to you gentlemen a cordial welcome, let me rejoice at seeing gathered here, save those who were unavoidably prevented from coming by their state of health or by other duties, all the statesmen who, in their capacity as Ministers of Foreign Affairs, have taken a personal share in the conception, preparation and drafting of the new pact.

We owe special thanks to those who have undergone the fatigue of a long journey in order to be present at this manifestation.

I have no doubt that you are all ready to join with me in the same cordial impulse to one of our colleagues who did not hesitate to come himself and assert with the full moral authority attached to his name and the great country which he represents, the affirmation of his steady faith in the importance and scope of the deed which we are about to sign.

Seated today among us in this same hall

where his illustrious forerunner, President Wilson, already gave earnest by works of peace of his high consciousness of the rôle of his country, the Honorable Mr. Kellogg is able to measure with just pride all the roads covered in so short a time since the epoch when we examined, both of us, the possibilities of realization of this vast diplomatic enterprise.

None is better qualified to take part in the negotiations, today brought to a happy ending, a preponderant part of which was his, and which will always stand to his honor in the minds of men. His optimism and his tenacity have overcome human skepticism; his loyalty and his good faith, the good will he brought to dissipate by clear and precise explanations the legitimate misgivings, have won for him the confidence of all his collaborators; his clear-sightedness has shown him what one may expect from Governments inspired by the deep yearnings of nations.

What greater lesson can be offered the world than the spectacle of a reunion where, for the signature of a pact against war, Germany of her own free will and on an even footing takes her place among the other signatories, her former adversaries?

The occasion is all the more striking when it is given to a representative of France to receive for the first time for more than a half century a German Foreign Minister on French soil and give him the same welcome as all his foreign colleagues. I would add, gentlemen, when this representative of Germany is named Stresemann, one can believe me particularly happy to render homage to the highness of mind and to the courage of this eminent statesman, who during more than three years has not hesitated to assume full responsibility in the work of European cooperation for the maintenance of peace.

Since I have gone so far as to mention names, you will not take it amiss—and certainly Lord Cushendun will approve—if I personally evoke among us with brotherly feeling the name of Sir Austen Chamber-

lain. Allow me to address to him all our wishes for a speedy and full return to health. When I think of the unwearied devotion that the cause of peace has always fostered in his noble soul, I can not help imagining the joy which so determined an enemy of war would have felt at the sight of a meeting such as this. As to ourselves, we must perforce believe that he is still with us, whether invisible or in the flesh, at any manifestation of peace.

It will be, I hope, no exaggeration to say that today's event marks a new date in history making.

For the first time, on general plans accessible to all nations in the universe, a congress of peace does something else than settle politically the immediate conditions of a particular peace such as they are imposed in fact by the results of war. For the first time, on a comprehensive and absolute scale, a treaty is truly devoted to the very establishment of peace, initiating a new law and freed from all political contingencies. Such a treaty is a beginning and not an end unto itself.

Nor have we met to liquidate a war. The Pact of Paris, born of peace and drawn from a free juridical notion, can and must be a regular treaty of concord. That is, no doubt, why Mr. Kellogg, when he insisted on leaving to the French Government the privilege of receiving you in Paris, was so kind as to tell the French Ambassador that it seemed to him quite fitting that the neighborhood of the Place de la Concorde should be chosen for signing the pact.

The treaties of Locarno, after the Dawes plan, had already borne witness to this new spirit that now finds its full vent. All their signatories were quite familiar with the idea of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, as I had the occasion of saying in my message to the American people on the 6th of April, 1927. But those practical agreements, calculated to create a political guarantee of peace in a definite section of Europe, could not, because of their very nature, assume that universal character from which a general pact against war derives all its value.

The League of Nations, deeply imbued with the same spirit, had likewise issued a declaration tending in fact to obtain eventually the same result as the new pact, but apart from the fact that the United States had no share in it, the formula and methods of the League could not be the same as those to which it has been possible for us to have recourse for such a general and absolute agreement as the pact provides. The League of Nations, a vast political undertaking of insurance against war and a powerful institution of organized peace where there is room to welcome all fresh contributions to the common work, can not but rejoice at the signing of an international contract whereby she is to benefit.

Far from being inconsistent with any of her obligations, this new act on the contrary offers her a kind of general reinsurance. Thus those of her members who will soon be able to ask the League to register today's contract will rightly feel that they are bringing her a precious token of their attachment and loyalty.

It may now be appropriate to explain what is finally the essential feature of this pact against war. It is this: For the first time

in the face of the whole world, through a solemn covenant involving the honor of great nations which all have behind them a heavy past, of political conflict, war is renounced unreservedly as an instrument of national policy, that is to say in its most specific and dreaded form—selfish and wilful war. Considered of yore as of divine right and having remained in international ethics as an attribute of sovereignty, that form of war becomes at last juridically devoid of what constituted its most serious danger—its legitimacy.

Henceforth, branded with illegality, it is by mutual accord truly and regularly outlawed so that a culprit would incur the unconditional condemnation and probably the enmity of all its co-signatories. It is a direct blow at the institution of war, even at its very vitals. It is no longer a question of defensive organization against this scourge, but of attacking the evil at the root itself. Thus shall war as a means of arbitrary and selfish action no longer be deemed lawful. Thus its threat shall no longer hang over the economic, political and social life of peoples. Thus shall the smaller nations henceforth enjoy real independence in international discussions. Freed from the old bondage, the nations that have signed the new contract will gradually forego the habit of associating the idea of national prestige and national interest with the idea of force. And this single psychological fact will not be the least important factor in the evolution that is needed to lead to the regular stabilization of peace.

Oh, but this is not realism, it has been said, and are not sanctions lacking? It might be asked whether true realism consists in excluding from the realm of facts the moral forces, among which is that of public opinion. In effect, a State which would act so as to incur the reprobation of all its partners would run the positive risk of seeing all of them gradually and freely gather against it with redoubtable consequences that would not be long in ensuing. And where is the country, signatory to this pact, whose leaders would on their own responsibility expose it to such danger? The modern law of interdependence between nations makes it incumbent upon every statesman to take up for himself those memorable words of President Coolidge: "An act of war in any part of the world is an act that injures the interests of my country."

Now we can realize how important it is to extend the scope of this wide range of international solidarity which tends, as an ideal end, to encompass the whole of the universe.

When on the 20th of June, 1927, I had the honor of proposing to the Honorable Mr. Kellogg the form of words which he decided to accept and embody in the draft of a multilateral pact, I never contemplated for one moment that the suggested engagement should only exist between France and the United States. Indeed, I have always thought that in one way or another through multiplication or extension the proposed covenant would in itself possess an expanding force strong enough to reach rapidly all nations whose moral adhesion was indispensable. It was, therefore, a source of gratification to me to see Mr. Kellogg from the beginning of the active negotiations that

he was to lead with such a clear-sighted and persevering mind advocate extension of the pact and assign to it that universal character that fully answered the wishes of the French Government.

It may be said that this desirable universality that was at the origin of the pact has already found its application in actual practice, for the intentions expressed by many Governments enable us even now to consider the spiritual community of the nations that are morally represented at this first signature as being much wider than it appears to the onlookers. All those peoples whose delegates have not been in a position to sit among us today must realize in this hour of complete union our unanimous regret that for purely technical reasons it was found imperative to adopt a procedure best calculated to insure and expedite, for the benefit of all, the success of this great undertaking.

Thus the mind's eye broadens this solemn assembly of first signatories to a general pact for renunciation of war and extends it beyond the walls of this room and even over all frontiers whether on land or on sea. With this wide communion of men which we feel surrounding us, we sincerely are entitled to reckon that we are more than fifteen around this table. And well

may you have noticed that the Government of the Republic has purposely ordered that the flags of all nations should be hoisted over the building which is sheltering us today.

Gentlemen, in a moment the awakening of a great hope will be signaled to the world along the wires. It will henceforth behoove us as a sacred duty to do all that can and must be done for that hope not to be disappointed. Peace is proclaimed. That is well, that is much, but it still remains necessary to organize it. In the solution of difficulties right and not might must prevail. That is to be the work of tomorrow.

At this unforgettable hour the conscience of peoples, pure and rid of any national selfishness is sincerely endeavoring to attain those serene regions where human brotherhood can be felt in the beatings of one and the same heart. Let us seek a common ideal within which we can all merge our fervent hopes and give up any selfish thoughts.

As there is not one of the nations represented here that has not shed the blood of her children on the battlefields of the last war, I propose that we should dedicate to the dead, to all the dead of the Great War, the event which we are going to consecrate together by our signatures.

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

THE unusually busy period in League affairs that coincided with the month of August covered not only the usual run of day-to-day events but also three events of particular American interest—the communication to the League by Great Britain of her anti-war pact correspondence, the request by Costa Rica for an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and the overwhelming nomination, and subsequent election on Sept. 8, of Charles Evans Hughes for the Judgeship on the Permanent Court of International Justice, left vacant by the resignation of John Bassett Moore.

The Anti-War Pact—On Aug. 4, the fourteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, Great Britain transmitted to the League of Nations her correspondence with the United States in connection with the multilateral treaty for "the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy." This was done, the letter of transmission said, with the thought that, "as the matter is evidently one of general interest to all the members of the League, I am to request that copies of the inclosed notes be

circulated to them." In this way the pact was first officially brought before the League. In conformity with the British request the correspondence was at once forwarded to all the fifty-five States members of the League, many of whom, except for the original fifteen invited to sign the treaty, thus had their first formal information concerning it. It is perhaps worth noting that that information was not, naturally, the original American proposal or interpretation, but necessarily the British interpretation thereof. The British action was of deep interest in League circles, where the relationship of the treaty to the Covenant had been much discussed even since France, and later Great Britain, Germany and other Powers, indicated that they would accompany their signature with a declaration safeguarding their obligations under the Covenant. As the British note to the League expressed it:

In considering these proposals his Majesty's Government in Great Britain have been at great pains, in view of the provisions of Article 20 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to assure themselves that their acceptance would not involve any inconsis-

ency with the obligations resulting from the Covenant. As appears from the enclosed notes, they are satisfied that signature of the proposed treaty will not involve any conflict with the obligations resulting from membership in the League.

And in one of the notes is the further precise statement:

The preservation of peace has been the chief concern of his Majesty's Government and the prime object of all their endeavors. It is the reason why they have given ungrudging support to the League of Nations and why they have undertaken the burden of the guarantees embodied in the Locarno Treaty. The sole object of all these engagements is the elimination of war as an instrument of national policy, just as it is the purpose of the peace pact now proposed. It is because the object of both is the same that there is no real antagonism between the treaty engagements which his Majesty's Government have already accepted and the pact which is now proposed. The machinery of the Covenant and of the Treaty of Locarno, however, go somewhat further than a renunciation of war as a policy, in that they provide certain sanctions for a breach of their obligations. A clash might thus conceivably arise between the existing treaties and the proposed pact unless it is understood that the obligations of the new engagement will cease to operate in respect of a party which breaks its pledges and adopts hostile measures against one of its co-contractors. For the Government of this country respect for the obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations and out of the Locarno Treaties is fundamental. Our position in this regard is identical with that of the German Government as indicated in their note of the 27th April. His Majesty's Government could not agree to any new treaty which would weaken or undermine these engagements on which the peace of Europe rests.

With this interpretation, the anti-war pact thus was brought before all the members of the League only a short time before its signature in Paris and the Ninth Assembly of the League in Geneva. The British action constituted another interesting indication of the increasing tendency of States members of the League to transmit information of their policies and to use the League as a convenient method of correspondence and information. In this way, indeed, by the use of a single postage stamp, they can put their views automatically before practically all the nations of the world and assure immediate world publicity through the great conference and journalistic centre which Geneva has now become.

The Monroe Doctrine—Shortly after the British communication on the anti-war pact came a note from Costa Rica to the effect that "the Government of Costa Rica de-

sires to know the interpretation placed by the League of Nations on the Monroe Doctrine, and the scope given to that doctrine when it was included in Article 21 of the Covenant of the League." This inquiry was in reply to a communication sent by the Council of the League to Costa Rica, at the same time as to Spain and Brazil, urging her to reconsider her decision to withdraw from the League and to resume her participation in its work. The Costa Rican reply, after expressing its full appreciation both of the invitation and of the lofty ideals of the League, said that, before accepting it, "it feels obliged to raise a fundamental question which recently formed the subject of impassioned debates throughout the American Continent." It then drew attention to Article 21 of the Covenant, which states that "nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

Under this article, in the opinion of the Costa Rican note, "the international legal scope of the Monroe Doctrine was extended." The note then went on to say:

This situation would involve no risk to the independence of small nations and could even, on the contrary, be regarded as the most effective weapon for their defense, if, whenever their horizon were obscured by the slightest shadow of a threat on the part of another nation and there were occasion to apply the Monroe Doctrine, an appeal could be made to an international organ of the importance of the League of Nations for an express and authorized declaration with regard to the actual scope and correct interpretation of the above-mentioned doctrine. * * *

The Government and people of Costa Rica gladly recognize the undeniable benefits which in memorable epochs of the political life of the Western Hemisphere have resulted from the declaration. * * * Nevertheless, owing to various historical events, which it would be inopportune to mention here, and also to the lack of general agreement as to the scope of that declaration, both public opinion and publicists have differed widely as to its correct interpretation. It is not unusual even to find men with the responsibilities of high office expressing opinions such as that held by the former Secretary of the United States, Mr. Elihu Root, who went so far as to regard the Monroe Doctrine as a declaration based on the North American people's right to self-protection.

The note then recalled Salvador's endeavor to secure an interpretation of the doc-

trine from the United States at the time that other Central American countries joined the League and concluded with the formal request given above. In conformity with custom, the communication was forwarded to all States members of the League.

The Nomination of Mr. Hughes—The first list of nominations by the various national groups of a successor to fill the unexpired term of John Bassett Moore as a Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, published on Aug. 1, showed an overwhelming agreement upon Charles Evans Hughes, former Secretary of State of the United States, recently President of the Pan-American Conference at Havana, and incidentally author of the project for American adhesion to the Court. No fewer than twenty-six national groups had put his name forward, which, with those coming later, gave him the indorsement of groups from more than half the States in the Assembly and nearly all the States in the Council. While the nominating bodies are the various national groups of jurists accredited to The Hague Arbitral Court and the actual electors are the Government representatives in the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations, nevertheless, the unanimity of choice was so marked as to make Mr. Hughes's election of Sept 8 a certainty. Among the national groups putting his name forward were those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and even the United States, which last-named group, in the first election for the Court in 1920, had declined to nominate because it felt its powers under its original appointment insufficient. Though these powers remain the same today, many other things have changed, and the American group consequently took its part with the

others in nominating an American jurist to succeed an American jurist on this most important body, even though the Government itself was not able to participate in the final election.

Mandates Commission—The semi-annual meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission was concluded and a detailed report sent to the Council on the different mandated areas. It was stated in the report that the revolt in Western Samoa, close by an American possession, had been terminated and order reestablished. In connection with the status of Syrians and Lebanese in Syria reference was made to the fact that mandated areas are required to give most-favored-nation treatment to nationals of States members of the League and of the United States, but are not rewarded with similar treatment for their own subjects abroad.

Council Members and Delegations—An identic communication was received from the British, French and German Governments requesting the Assembly to consider the exceptional application this year of the rules for the election of non-permanent members of the Council. These rules were adopted at the time of the Council crisis when Spain and Brazil gave notice of withdrawal from the League. The question might have a particular importance this year in view of Spain's return. Of considerable diplomatic interest, too, was the announcement by the Nanking Government of a wholly new Chinese delegation to the Assembly and the Council, capable, after many years of revolution, of speaking for a reunited China. Also interesting was the designation of W. L. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister, to head the delegation of his country.



Prohibition Issue Splits Both Parties

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

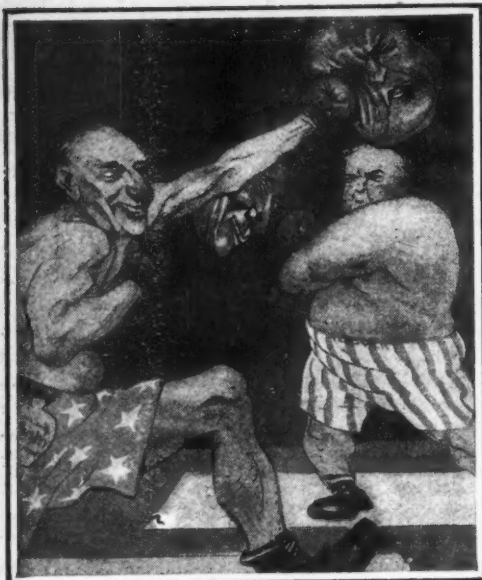
TEN thousand people stood in the rain and several million tuned in on the radio as Alfred E. Smith declared himself wholeheartedly in favor of amending both the Volstead act and the Eighteenth Amendment, in his notification speech at Albany on Aug. 22. Since the text of that section of the speech dealing with Prohibition reform is printed in full on page 16, and fully discussed elsewhere in this issue, this article will confine itself to a brief report of the shouts of joy and cries of horror which necessarily follow the hurling of a political thunderbolt. Disregarding the advice of Southern Democratic leaders, such as Josephus Daniels and Carter Glass, Governor Smith precipitated a contentious and non-party issue. As he himself says, "opinion on prohibition cuts squarely across the two great political parties." Southern dries, Methodists and Anti-Saloon League adherents led the hue and cry denouncing the proposed return of intoxicating liquors. Republicans, among them Senator Curtis, called Prohibition a "sham issue," denying that Governor Smith could carry out his promises if elected. Senator Borah, on the other hand, predicted that the execution of Smith's plan would put the Government in the position of a bootlegger. Equally the plan was hailed as "a historic landmark in prohibition," as sound, explicit and constructive by both Democrats and Republicans. Among the latter was Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, candidate for the Republican nomination in 1924, who characterized the plan as "frank, constructive and forward-facing." Both friends and enemies of the Democratic candidate admitted that he had taken a courageous and unequivocal stand in the face of party opposition.

While enlarging on his statements of July 9 and Aug. 3 in regard to farm relief, Governor Smith in his notification speech proposed no startling innovations. The increase in the farm debt, the decrease in the value of farm property and the number of bank failures in agricultural dis-

tricts, prove, he maintained, that the farmer's plight is a real and desperate one. "This country cannot be a healthy, strong economic body if one of its members so fundamentally important as agriculture is sick almost to the point of economic death," continues the speech. "For eight years the President and Congress have been Republican. What has been done to solve this problem? * * * I propose to substitute action for inaction and friendliness for hostility." Cooperative marketing and the fair distribution of the costs of disposing of surpluses are the points on which both Democratic and Republican candidates are in accord. In the working out of the plan, moreover, Mr. Smith proposes, if victorious, to consult a non-partisan group of experts immediately after election. The higher tariff on agricultural products, promised by Mr. Hoover, is criticized by Governor Smith as "ineffective on commodities of which there is exportable surplus without controlled sale of surplus."

Surveying the Republican foreign policy, Governor Smith astonished his hearers by saying: "I am not one of those who contend that everything Republican is bad and everything Democratic is good." He approves the arbitration treaties and the Disarmament Conference of 1921 in so far as they go, but considers them entirely inadequate as guarantees for peace, since "no limitation has been placed upon land armaments, submarines, vessels of war of under 10,000 tons displacement, poison gases or any of the other machinery devised by man for the destruction of human life."

The foreign policy of the present Administration was a signal failure in two other respects, continues the speech. First, in our relations with Latin America there is widespread distrust and unfriendliness, chiefly exemplified by the situation in Nicaragua: "The Administration has intervened in an election dispute between two conflicting factions, sent our troops into Nicaragua, maintained them there for years, and this without the consent of Congress. To settle this



A FOREIGN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

"Both parties are training hard with the punching ball."

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

internal dispute, our marines have died and hundreds of Nicaraguans in turn have been killed by our marines. Without consultation with Congress, the Administration entered on this long-continued occupation of the territory of a supposedly friendly nation by our armed troops."

Together with our policy of interference in Latin America, Governor Smith deplores the imperialistic doctrine announced by President Coolidge on April 25, 1927, to the effect that the person and property of citizens are part of the national domain, even when abroad. "I do not think," replies the Governor, "the American people would approve a doctrine which would give to Germany, or France, or England, or any other country, the right to regard a citizen of that country or the property of a citizen of that country situated within the borders of the United States a part of the national domain of the foreign country. Our unwarranted intervention in internal affairs in Latin America and this specious reason for it constitute the basis upon which other countries may seek to justify imperialistic policies which threaten world peace and materi-

ally lessen the effectiveness which might otherwise lie in the multilateral treaties."

Governor Smith did his best to dispel the fears of business men on the tariff question, and to convince them that the reversal of the traditional Democratic reduction policy is real and sincere. "To be sure," he said, "the Republican Party will attempt in the campaign to misrepresent Democratic attitude to the tariff. The Democratic Party does not and under my leadership will not advocate any sudden or drastic revolution in our economic system which would cause business upheaval and popular distress." "Taking the tariff out of politics" and restoring to its intended importance the non-partisan and scientific tariff commission constitute the program promised by the Governor.

The prosperity claimed by the Republican Party is a myth, asserts the Democratic candidate, while we have 4,000,000 unemployed and while one-twentieth of one per cent. of the corporations in the country earn forty per cent. of the profits.

Nor have the Republican claims of economy any real basis, he argues, since appropriations have increased by just half a billion dollars, while necessary expenditures



Terribly Embarrassing When You're Out With Your New Girl.

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*

for Government buildings and barracks have not been made and the Republican promise of reorganization and consolidation of Government departments has not been kept. For water power, Governor Smith continues his advocacy of Federal and State ownership and control.

Of immigration, he says: "I am opposed to the principle of restriction based upon the figures of immigrant population contained in a census thirty-eight years old. I believe this is designed to discriminate against certain nationalities and is an unwise policy." This statement aroused a storm of accusation, since basing the immigration quota on a more recent national census would increase the number admitted from Southern European countries and decrease the number of so-called "Nordic" immigrants. Mr. Hoover and his party repudiate this policy, and even Democratic newspapers have tactfully suggested that Mr. Smith should reconsider his conclusions after more careful study of the problem.

In general, Governor Smith's speech was designed to appeal to the liberal elements in the country, and, in some measure, it succeeded in that appeal, notably in the case of *The New Republic* and *The Nation*, independent periodicals which now support



THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE CENTURY

—Clifton (N. J.) Journal

Governor Smith as the personal representative of liberalism. However, it is safe to say that his attitude on prohibition has attracted more bolters than any other single policy. Among those who have recently "gone Democratic" for this reason are: Henry H. Curran, President of the Association Opposed to the Prohibition Amendment; Uzal H. McCarter, Newark financier, and Rudolph Spreckels, California banker. William Randolph Hearst, traditional enemy of Governor Smith in New York State, has declared himself for Hoover and against "Tammany Hall and the liquor interests."

The charges against Governor Smith's legislative record on liquor, gambling and prostitution, made by William Allen White on July 20, were answered in full by the Governor on Aug. 20, two days before his notification speech. Explaining his votes, bill by bill, Mr. Smith dealt with the accusations. He charged, in turn, that there was "unmistakable evidence" that the attack had originated with the Republican National Committee, and declared that he was "glad to have this matter taken out of the whispering stage and put into the open." Despite the fact that both Democratic and Republican candidates have repeatedly insisted that the campaign be kept on a high impersonal and ethical plane, thousands of slanderous pamphlets from anonymous sources have



NOT EVEN DENTED

—Philadelphia Inquirer

been circulated, mainly in New England and the South. Democratic authorities are making vigorous efforts to trace the "whispering campaign" and to bring out into the open the anti-Catholic propaganda.

Mr. Hoover returned to Washington on Aug. 24, after a trip eastward through the farm area, punctuated by receptions and speeches. Two important speeches were made by the Republican candidate, the first at Los Angeles on the Boulder Dam issue, the second at West Branch, Iowa, Mr. Hoover's birthplace, on the farm program. The power development of the Colorado River is agitating the far Western States (Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico and California), and is the leading issue on which Hiram Johnson of California is asking re-election to the Senate. Ignoring the question of Federal, State or private ownership, Mr. Hoover said: "We want the greatest reservoir and the highest dam at Boulder Canyon that the engineers will recommend, and I am hopeful that the project will receive favorable action from the present Congress."

"This is a homecoming," said Mr. Hoover, speaking to the inhabitants of his native town, West Branch, Iowa, on Aug. 21. In



JUST ONE THING AFTER ANOTHER
—Adams Service

a personal and reminiscent vein, the candidate described his boyhood on a farm. Turning to the more serious aspects, Mr. Hoover reiterated his proposals made in his notification speech for cooperative marketing organizations, with extensive development of inland waterways to decrease transportation costs and promised that "outstanding farmers such as Governor Lowden will be asked to join in the search for common ground upon which we can act." This follows a similar promise by Governor Smith and indicates that Governor Lowden, though still a staunch Republican is recognized by both parties as a factor to be consulted and conciliated in the settlement of the farm problem.

The South and the East will from now on be the scenes of Mr. Hoover's campaigning activities, announces the Republican Committee. On Sept. 17, by the time this magazine has appeared, he will have spoken at Newark, New Jersey, on "labor problems." Speeches in North Carolina and Tennessee were also contemplated, to be followed by an appearance at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Oct. 17, and one in Boston late in October. Among those who will take the stump for the Republican candidate are Secretaries Kellogg, Mellon and Wilbur, Vice-President Dawes and Charles Evans Hughes. Governor Smith's plans included



COMING WEST TO HELP ITS FARMERS
—New York Herald Tribune



A DRAWING-ROOM CAMPAIGN
—Oregon Daily Journal, Portland, Ore.

an invasion of the West with speeches at Omaha, Neb., Oklahoma City, Denver, Col., Helena, Mont., Minneapolis, Minn., and Milwaukee, Wis.

The speaking tours of the two candidates are of course being supplemented by the activities of the Vice-Presidential nominees, Senators Curtis and Robinson. Agriculture was the main theme of Senator Curtis's notification speech at Topeka, Kansas on Aug. 18, and the same issue was stressed by Senator Robinson as he accepted the nomination at Hot Springs, Ark., on Aug. 30. Digressing from his formal speech, Senator Robinson made an extemporaneous plea for fairness, honesty and sincerity, referring to the so-called "whispering campaign."

Large contributors continued to support the campaign funds of both major political parties. Reports for the month of August show a Republican total of \$683,418, and more than a third of this sum was composed of ten gifts of \$25,000 each. Four contributions of \$50,000 each helped to swell the Democratic fund to \$455,797. Detailed lists of contributors were published by both parties, in accordance with their promises.

State primaries are always watched eagerly by political observers as furnishing an indication of the number of voters who will come out in November. As a matter of

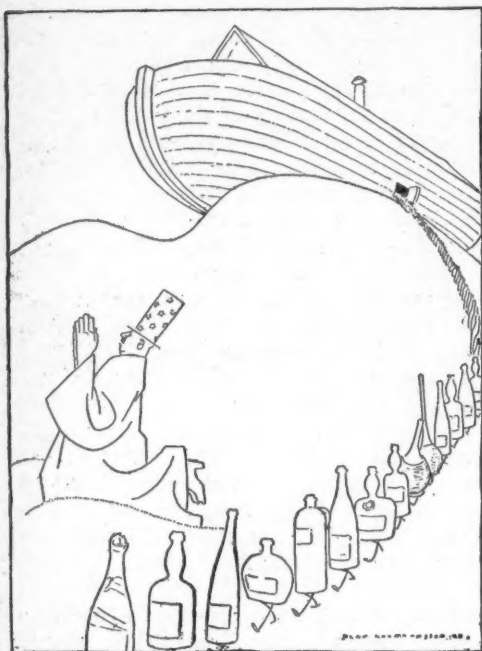
fact, these indications are rarely as reliable as they are supposed to be, since the numbers of Republicans and Democrats who come to the primaries in August depend largely on the vitality of the issues in their particular State. Dry candidates were nominated by both parties in Ohio on Aug. 14. Results of primaries in Missouri, Arkansas and Tennessee were so complex as to defy predictions. Even the strongest Republicans hesitate this year to assert the old claim that "as goes Maine, so goes the Union." This State usually goes Republican, even in years of Democratic Presidential victories. Nevertheless, the unusual Republican majority of approximately 75,000 (more than double that of 1924) greatly encouraged Republican leaders. The question of whether or not Maine waterpower shall be exported was chiefly agitating the election which took place on Sept. 10, with the Democratic candidate for Governor, Edward C. Moran Jr., on the affirmative side and William Tudor Gardiner, the Republican winner, opposed. The Fernald law, now in force, prohibits exportation.

Although Senator Robert M. La Follette was renominated by an overwhelming ma-



Hoover: "We've Done It for Others; Why Not You?"

—New York Herald Tribune



IS IT THE END OF PROHIBITION IN AMERICA?

"And They All Came Out of the Ark and Were Fruitful and Multiplied."

—*Simplicissimus, Munich*

majority in the Wisconsin primaries on Sept. 4, his choice for Governor was as overwhelmingly defeated by the nominee of the Republican conservative wing, Walter J. Kohler. This defeat was seen as a definite move to break up the La Follette progressive Republican régime in Wisconsin.

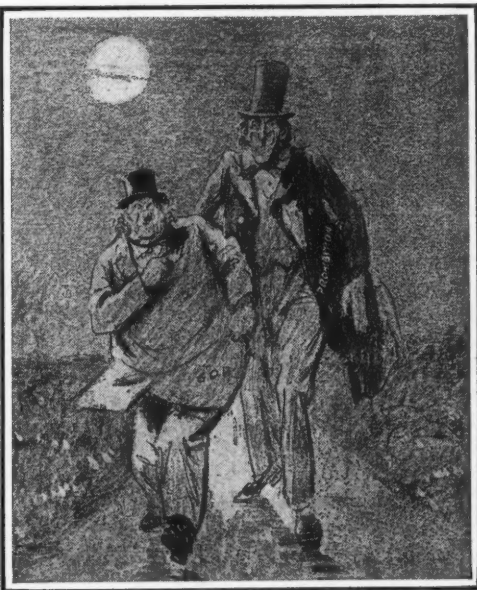
The importance of the primaries in deciding the political make-up of the next Congress cannot be overlooked. The exceedingly slim Republican majority suggests the possibility that if Governor Smith should be elected by a large majority, a Democratic Congress might be swept in with him. On the other hand, Republicans are anxious to increase their majority, and claim that this can be done in the November election.

President Coolidge accepted the resignation of Mr. Hoover as Secretary of Commerce on Aug. 21 and immediately appointed as his successor a prominent Massachusetts business man and close personal friend, William F. Whiting. The new Secretary, who is President of the Whiting Paper

Company and former delegate to the Republican National Convention, took office on Aug. 27. In the telegram to Mr. Hoover, accepting his resignation, President Coolidge said: "I wish to express to you my appreciation of the character of the service you have rendered in that office. It has been of great benefit to the commercial life of the nation and has given a new impetus to our entire business structure."

Having affixed his signature to the multilateral treaty in Paris (see Page 1 of this issue), Secretary Kellogg returned to this country on Sept. 10. Upon landing he emphatically stated that the treaty was not to be used by Republicans as a campaign issue, since he feels that the ratification of so important a contribution to world peace should be kept above partisan politics.

The public received startling information of a crime and bootlegging ring in Philadelphia on Aug. 28, when it was announced that more than \$10,000,000 had been deposited by bootleggers in banks in that city during the past year. On Aug. 31 the report of the Grand Jury, after a ten-day investigation, declared that Philadelphia is in the grip of a wealthy and powerful criminal organization composed of thugs



A NERVOUS OLD GENTLEMAN

—*New York World*

and gunmen "who have been put upon the streets of Philadelphia with deadly weapons, and in the conduct of their illegal purposes have not hesitated to indulge in bloodshed and wanton brutality. These men, without detection or apparent fear of apprehension, have run the whole gamut of crime, openly and brazenly, and with a degree of security unheard of in a decent community. Their activities have resulted in a condition in this country which constitutes a real menace to society and a dangerous threat to the preservation of law and order." Swift action followed this report. Mayor Mackey ordered a police "clean-up" in twenty-four hours and District Attorney Monaghan, skeptical of results obtained by the police, two days later assigned his detective squad to round up the criminals. A startling development was the discovery of a machine gun arsenal where criminals could obtain without difficulty the machine guns and bullet-proof vests necessary to their activities. Results at this writing indicate that the "clean-up" order of the Philadelphia Mayor has been no more effective in stopping hold-ups and bootlegging than the similar actions of Mayor Thompson in Chicago.



IF NEW YORK IS A FAIR SAMPLE
—New York Herald Tribune



HE'S NOT GOING ANYWHERE WITH IT
—Philadelphia Inquirer

The wave of Federal prohibition enforcement activity which enveloped New York during July and early August, and to which political motives were ascribed, receded with equal suddenness when United States Attorney Charles H. Tuttle put a stop to the issuing of subpoenas to prominent night club patrons. This policy pursued by Federal authorities under the direction of Assistant Attorney General Mabel Walker Willebrandt, was disapproved by Mr. Tuttle, and Federal authorities have since abandoned these tactics in New York.

The final development in the case of Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp, former Secretary of State of New York, took place in Albany on Sept. 4, when Supreme Court Justice Callaghan sentenced her to thirty days in jail. Mrs. Knapp was convicted on May 26 of grand larceny in the first degree of padding payrolls of the 1925 State census. In pronouncing the sentence Justice Callaghan said:

I have no desire to add to the humiliation of the defendant. Yet I deem it my duty to state the reasons which lead me to impose a prison sentence.

The records furnished indisputable proof that funds amounting to \$27,604.18 were improperly paid by the State on false certifications by the defendant. Of that sum at least \$17,408.03 was wrongfully received by

the defendant and probably a total of \$24,175.82 is traceable directly or indirectly to her.

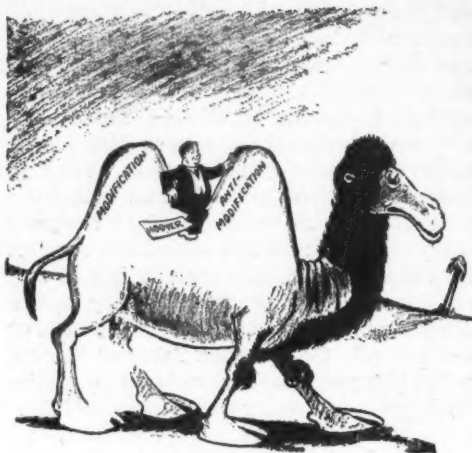
Although the Grand Jury returned but twelve indictments, there was ample evidence to justify at least thirty. The Grand Jury, however, in its wisdom, evidently felt that no good purpose would be served by finding other indictments.

When the Governor ordered an investigation of the irregularities which which the defendant was charged she did not, as is the duty of every public official, lend herself in assisting in a complete investigation of the charges against her, but remained out of the jurisdiction to prevent the Commissioner from causing process papers to be served.

She filed affidavits which were false and which were no doubt intended to relieve her of the imputation of wrongdoing. Her attitude toward the Commissioner was the same as that evidenced by her in the trial of the indictment upon which she was convicted. She persistently endeavored to defeat the ends of justice and, to carry out her purpose, she was guilty not only of perjury but of subornation of perjury.

It is apparent to all who have followed the proceedings that there was not the slightest question of her guilt. Even her friends who have appealed for leniency in her behalf have not ventured to suggest that the charges against her were not fully and thoroughly proved or that she is innocent.

The purpose of punishment is not that society may wreak vengeance against the guilty, but is rather for the salutary purpose of warning others that they may not commit like offenses without the penalty of the law. One could not feel that his full duty had been discharged if the defendant,



SITTING PRETTY

—Brooklyn Daily Eagle

in view of the gravity of her offense, were permitted to go free.

I have considered carefully every aspect of her case and all that has been said in her favor, and after mature thought and deliberation I am fully convinced that justice would not be served by a suspension of sentence.

I therefore sentence the defendant to thirty days in the Albany County Jail.

At the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass., on Aug. 29 Dr. Raymond Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, criticized the United States Department of State for its attitude with regard to the Firestone rubber concession of 1,000,000 acres in Liberia. The State Department, he said, encouraged the Firestones in their Liberian enterprise to such an extent that American business men and military officers have a virtual control in Liberia. Dr. Buell added: "The Government of the United States, as it is at present administered, offers the amazing spectacle of a Government closing the American market to all foreign competitors and yet of attempting to 'capture' foreign markets for American business men and of establishing a Government-fed, artificially supported merchant marine to take away business from foreigners." Dr. Buell further declared that Liberia had been coerced by the Firestones into accepting a loan of \$5,000,000 at 7 per cent. which was undertaken by the American Finance Corporation, which Dr. Buell said was a Firestone subsidiary. Moreover, he declared that the Firestones had brought about in Liberia a



SOMETHING TO WORRY ABOUT
—Philadelphia Inquirer



How Prohibition Works in the City of Brotherly Love.

—New York World

situation which amounted to slave labor, for the Firestone managers dealt directly with the tribal chiefs, who made it compulsory for the entire able-bodied male population between 18 and 40 to work on the rubber plantation. After these accusations were made public the State Department issued a denial of the claim that it had brought any influence to bear on Liberia with regard to the Firestone concession or loan. William R. Castle, Acting Secretary of State, said that the contract for the concession as well as the loan was submitted to the State Department, but that this department had not approved the loan, and furthermore had made suggestions for a change in the concession, which had not been heeded by the Liberian Government. Denial came, too, from President C. D. B. King of Liberia, who stated that no influence was brought to bear upon Liberia to negotiate the concession or to accept the loan. Liberia after the war needed to reorganize its finances, and to accomplish this sought the aid of the American money market. In his rejoinder Dr. Buell reiterated his contention that if Mr. Firestone carried through his intention of developing a million acres of land in Liberia with the aid of 3,000,000 native laborers, compulsory labor and native demoralization will result.

THE PHILIPPINES—Cooperation between the Executive and legislative branches of the Philippine Government received a new impetus with the creation of a

Council of State for the Philippines by Governor Stimson. On Aug. 30 Governor Stimson issued the following decree:

A Council of State is hereby created to advise the Governor General on such matters of public policy as he may from time to time lay before it. He shall be the presiding officer of such Council of State and it shall consist of such persons as from time to time may be appointed and summoned by him.

Until otherwise ordered by him it shall consist of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the majority floor leader of the Senate, the majority floor leader of the House of Representatives, and the heads of the six executive departments.

HENRY L. STIMSON,
Governor General.

This executive order is the last of four steps taken this Summer to accomplish regular and responsible cooperation between the Executive and legislative branches of the Philippine Government, all the four steps being part of the same deliberate program. This new body is purely advisory, and replaces the old Council of State abolished in 1923 because of a controversy between the late Governor General Wood and Filipino leaders.



"AIN'T IT THE TRUTH, DEARIE?"
—Baltimore Sun

President Calles Declines Renomination

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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and

J. LLOYD MECHAM

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

A VAST amount of speculation and uneasy questioning in Mexico since the assassination of President-elect Obregon was set at rest when President Plutarco Elias Calles, in his address before the opening session of the new Mexican Congress on Sept. 1, eliminated himself from the approaching Presidential contest. In most emphatic language he refused to continue in office after the expiration of his term on Nov. 30. Moreover, he solemnly asserted that he would never again be President of Mexico. The choice of a Provisional President is now in the hands of the Mexican Congress, and the President urged that only considerations of highest patriotism guide that body in its choice of his successor. A feature of President Calles's address which elicited universal approval was his recommendation that Mexico be given a stable democratic Government, free from the machinations of politicians and military chieftains, and devoted to the common interests of the entire nation.

President Calles was warmly applauded in a manifesto issued by the anti-re-electionist party. His message was described as a note of glory for him as President and of great prestige for him as a man. Army chieftains, gathered in Mexico City for the convening Congress, pledged their support in a public statement as follows: "The army will follow the line of conduct marked by its duty and patriotism. We will support the utterances of President Calles, who before the National Congress pledged and guaranteed the noble and disinterested conduct of the army in this national crisis. The army will remain aloof from political participation in the selection of a Provisional President. In that selection the army's one rôle will be to support whomsoever Congress may constitutionally put at the head of the Government." Commenting on the popular reaction to the Presi-

dent's speech, the paper *Excelsior* said: "We do not exaggerate. The fact is that the Calles message called forth the unanimous praise of his enemies, who say now that whatever his errors in the past, he must be forgiven them in view of his patriotism and renunciation of every selfish consideration for the best interests of his country."

The withdrawal of Señor Calles in the face of well-nigh overwhelming pressure to continue him in office for at least two years longer transforms the Presidential race into a free-for-all in which the outcome cannot be predicted. Considerable trouble is expected because of the constitutional provision that a Presidential candidate must have resigned office under the Government, including service in the army, one year before the Presidential election. Because all the available candidates are officeholders or military officers, Congress must either amend the constitutional provision between now and Dec. 1, or elect a provisional successor to President Calles for at least a year. Whoever is selected, it is a foregone conclusion that the next President will be the choice of the Obregonista Party. That group is in control of Congress, and it has succeeded in having its leader Ricardo Topete appointed President of the Chamber of Deputies. Prior to the convening of Congress the revolutionary Obregonista bloc was constituted, and, before a life-size picture of Obregon, the members swore to see that his platform should be enforced. Señor Topete is expected to urge election of Gilberto Valenquela, Mexican Minister to London, as Provisional President to succeed President Calles.

The trial of José de Leon Toral, the assassin of Alvaro Obregon, has been postponed until October. The delay is due to an examination of his mental condition, which is expected to take at least thirty

days. Additional arrests requiring further examination of prisoners was another cause given for the delay. Considerable progress has been made by the Mexican police in collecting evidence against the "intellectual authors" of the crime, as indicated by a 5,000-word statement issued Aug. 21 by General Antonio Rios Zertuche, Supreme Chief of the Mexican Police. The statement, based largely on the results of the examination of an additional twelve persons recently arrested, declares that Mother Concepción Acevedo de la Llata, who had already been committed for trial on a charge of complicity in the murder, had much more to do with the plot than hitherto had come to light. The statement contains a detailed description of the meeting of plotters at the home of Mother Concepción. The Police Chief declared that the nun is now conclusively proved one of the prime elements in instigating the murder. The police statement supports the recent announcement by Attorney General Corres Nietos that the death of General Obregon was planned by a secret organization resembling the Italian *mafia*, headed by Mother Concepción. If the abbess is found guilty when her case comes to trial, she will probably escape the death penalty, since the Constitution forbids the execution of women.

Contrary to earlier reports, Luis Morones, former Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor, did not leave Mexico after the assassination of President-elect Obregon, but remained in seclusion for over a month. On Aug. 28 he made his first public appearance, and declared that he had no intention of leaving Mexico, and would continue to lead the Labor Party and back the Calles Government. Señor Morones made no allusion to the charges that the labor group was implicated in the assassination of Obregon. All investigations have tended to break down the charges of the radical Obregonistas that Morones was connected directly or indirectly with the assassination plot. Dr. José Manuel Puig Casauranc, Secretary of Education, was appointed on Aug. 22 Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor, which post was vacated by the resignation of Luis Morones. Moises Saenz, Under-Secretary of Education, has been made Acting Under-Secretary

of Industry, Commerce and Labor. Another recent ministerial appointment was that of Emilio Portes Gil, former Governor of Tamaulipas, as Minister of the Interior. Adalberto Tejada resigned as Secretary of the Interior to become Governor of the State of Vera Cruz.

The charges made by President Calles on July 24 that "the Catholic clergy armed the criminal hand" of Obregon's assassin were answered on Aug. 6 by Bishop Miguel de la Mora, spokesman of the Mexican Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Bishop pointed out that both the assassin and Mother Concepción were known to be mentally unbalanced, and declared that their act was entirely independent of "the clergy." On the contrary, he said, had it been known to them, the clergy would have restrained the plotters. Final responsibility for the crime, asserted de la Mora, really rested on those who enacted the amendments to the religious laws which limited religious liberty.

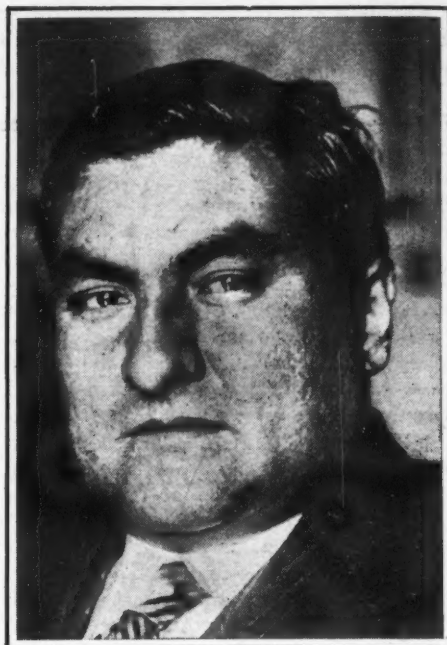
The official Vatican organ, *Osservatore Romano*, continued, during the month of August, its bitter attack on President Calles's régime. On Aug. 14, for the first time, it openly pointed at President Calles as General Obregon's "murderer." The charge was made that President Calles conspired the death of Obregon to keep himself in office. The President's message to Congress on Sept. 1, however, seems to refute this sensational charge.

A petition signed by 140 prominent Catholic laymen asking amendment of the religious laws to establish "complete religious liberty in Mexico and make the Church and State independent," was filed with Congress on Sept. 3. The petition seeks the return of Church property taken by the Government and permission for charitable institutions to own property.

The suppression of banditry continued to be a serious and pressing problem confronting the Mexican Federal and State Governments. During the month of August, numerous bandit outrages were reported from several sections of the republic. On Aug. 7 eighty auto tourists were robbed and held captive for eleven hours by bandits numbering about 100 near the Cacahuamihpa Caves in the State of Guerrero. The bandits then went to the town of Puente de Ixtla, robbed several stores, the railroad station and the

passengers of a train which arrived at the time of the occupation. The locomotive was started on a wild course down the track, but was ditched just before colliding with another train. The same band, which is protected by the Indians of Morelos, held up the Inter-oceanic train on the way to Puente Ixtla on Aug. 31, assassinated the military guard to the last man, robbed the express, took all the passengers had, including loose clothing, and burned the train. On the same day the station of Otinapa, State of Durango, was sacked by a band of marauders. Other acts of violence were reported in Medillin and Naranjos, State of Vera Cruz. Apparently the activity of the bandits is due to restlessness caused by the assassination of President-elect Obregon.

An official statement of Aug. 12, covering the first six months of the year, made public by Luis Montes de Oca, Finance Minister, shows that Mexico's economic situation is in a healthy condition. Revenues from taxation exceeded estimates by 10,318,541 pesos. The total revenues were 153,707,312.03 pesos. The greatest source of revenue was from importation taxes, which yielded 34,050,951.20 pesos. There was a marked drop in revenues from petroleum production, which yielded only 4,036,310.28 pesos. The petroleum production taxes were formerly Mexico's chief revenue source. The internal expenses of the republic can now be held within the budget, but these figures do not include the call made on the Treas-



EMILIO PORTES GIL
Mexican Minister of the Interior

Acme

ury from the International Committee of Bankers which this year has so far been avoided by means of the so-called moratorium granted by the bankers. In former years the petroleum income was used for this purpose.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

NICARAGUA—The American Marines during the month of August continued their relentless pursuit of Sandinista rebels. Following the engagement of Aug. 7 on the Coco River, a marine patrol a week later had contact with rebels further up the river near Españolita. Four Nicaraguans were killed, one wounded and five were taken prisoners. None of the marine forces was injured. Aviators assisted in driving the rebels from that area. On Aug. 27 a marine patrol routed forty "bandits" under Miguel Angel Ortiz near Macuelezo, west of Octal.

President Adolfo Diaz issued a decree on Aug. 11 conceding general and unconditional amnesty to all organized groups

which had committed crimes and acts of banditry since May 25, 1927, provided they would surrender by Sept. 15. The decree was issued with the hope that the country would be at peace before the coming Presidential election. Colonel Guadalupe Rivera, a Sandino aide, asked for and received amnesty under the Presidential decree. While the actual number of rebels surrendering was decreasing, marine officers reported that many stragglers were coming to the marine camps requesting safe conducts to return home. The whereabouts of General Sandino remained a mystery.

Negotiations between the State Department and the Guaranty Trust Company and J. and W. Seligman & Co., for a \$12,-

000,000 loan to Nicaragua have been dropped. Although the State Department was not officially sponsoring the loan, it sent Dr. W. W. Cumberland to make a financial survey of Nicaragua. Dr. Cumberland reported Nicaragua's financial condition to be excellent and capable of floating a loan of between \$12,000,000 and \$16,000,000. The object of the loan was to pay the cost of the Presidential election, the organization of a National Guard, revolutionary claims and the construction of a railroad to the Atlantic Coast. No explanation of the failure of the loan negotiations was made public, although it was generally assumed that the bankers wished to drop the negotiations because of uncertain conditions in Nicaragua, and because of the widespread criticism of alleged "Wall Street influence" in Central American internal affairs. Details of the financial plan were never divulged, but it was understood to call for the appointment by the bankers of an Auditor General for the Managua Government.

In order to prevent revolutionary agitation, President Diaz on Aug. 17 issued a decree which declared that "all propaganda by word or writing made by Nicaraguans, Central Americans, or aliens within the republic, tending to organize or foment revolutionary or subversive acts against any recognized Central American Government, shall be considered as a violation of the general treaty of amity and peace of Feb. 7, 1923." (This treaty was signed in Washington by the republics of Central America.)

HONDURAS—The proposal of Secretary of State Kellogg for Honduras and Guatemala to submit their troublesome boundary dispute to arbitration before the Central American Tribunal, established under the 1923 treaty, was rejected on July 27 by Honduras. Guatemala had previously accepted the proposal. The refusal of the Honduran Government was based on a number of technical considerations including the lack of an adequate panel of Judges from which to draw for hearing the case. It was felt, however, that the principal objection was Latin-American distrust of Latin-American neighbors, for Honduras declared its willingness to accept

arbitration by the President or the Chief Justice of the United States or any other tribunal established in permanent or regular form. The State Department was keenly disappointed, and on Aug. 8 Minister George T. Summerlin delivered a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras in which the various objections were challenged. Arbitration of the case by the United States was declared to be unnecessary, and the Honduran Government was strongly urged to reconsider its refusal to use the tribunal created by the Central American republics for the express purpose of arbitrating just such questions as this one. On Aug. 15 Secretary Kellogg in a new note insisted that the boundary dispute be submitted to the Central American Arbitration Tribunal. The proposal was violently denounced by the Honduran press.

COSTA RICA—The Congress passed, on Aug. 4, a law which nationalizes all the electrical power available to form a Government electric service. Although current concessions are recognized until their expiration, the law provides that no concessions are to be renewed. The first company to be affected is the Compañia Nacional de Electricidad, an American concern whose concession runs out in less than two years. Costa Rica already has a Government monopoly over all insurance, and foreign companies are being prohibited by law.

PANAMA—According to statistics made public on Aug. 21 by the War Department, a new record for commercial traffic through the Panama Canal was established during the fiscal year ended June 30. The total tonnage, 29,458,634, was heavier than in any other year since the canal opened.

On Aug. 21 Dr. Eusebio Morales, Secretary of Finance, announced his retirement from the Chiari Ministry. In a public statement he criticized the present political tendencies of Panama, and declared his intention to work for the organization of a new party, to be called the National Party, "in which should be grouped men of independent character, regardless of former political creed, united by certain doctrines of principles to work for a practical Government program to satisfy the aspirations of a true democracy."

Chile and Peru Resume Friendly Relations

By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DIPLOMATIC relations between Peru and Chile, severed seventeen years ago because of the dispute over the disposition of the Tacna-Arica territory, were resumed on July 13 through the friendly offices of Secretary Kellogg. Although Tacna-Arica was not specifically mentioned during the negotiations by Secretary Kellogg or either of the South American Governments, the resumption of friendly relations cannot fail to facilitate future discussion of the problem, and, according to the more optimistic, paves the way for an early settlement by the two Governments themselves.

The United States first took a hand in the controversy when, in 1922, President Harding invited Chile and Peru to send delegates to a conference in Washington. Finding that no headway could be made at these sessions, both countries requested President Harding to act as arbitrator. The numerous formulas for a settlement subsequently submitted by President Harding, former Secretary Hughes, President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg were rejected by one or both of the nations concerned, and, since 1926, no further negotiations had been attempted to break the deadlock. However, at the Pan American Congress at Havana last February beginnings of a rapprochement were sensed when the delegates of Chile and Peru, fortunately men of high intellectual calibre, met in a friendly spirit and agreed to urge mutual recognition upon their respective Governments.

On July 9 Mr. Kellogg addressed identic notes to the Foreign Ministers of Chile and Peru, in which he said:

After long and careful deliberations I have now come to the conclusion that an accommodation of mutual interests would be promoted should the Governments of Chile and Peru re-establish diplomatic relations through the appointment of diplomatic representatives at Lima and at Santiago.

I feel confident that such a re-establishment of diplomatic relations is consistent with the highest interests of the two great nations and presents an opportunity for the respective representatives to interpret not only the high ideals which I have been

happy to find animating both Governments, but also the basic good-will which I am convinced exists in each country toward the other, and that it would also afford a favorable means for facilitating the definite removal of all existing misunderstandings and hence lead to permanent readjustment of the relations between the two countries mutually satisfactory to both.

Upon the receipt of prompt and cordial acceptances from both Governments by the State Department, Mr. Kellogg summoned Señor Carlos Davila and Dr. Hernan Velarde, the Chilean and Peruvian Ambassadors, respectively, who met in friendly conversation, were photographed and departed together. Gratitude and approval predominated in the remarks of the South American press, although some doubt was voiced of the immediate settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute. On July 14 Foreign Minister Conrado Gallardo expressed Chile's recognition of the "generous invitation of Secretary Kellogg," and announced that:

Chile is marching directly to seek an accord with Peru by new ways and to make firm the bases that make for greatness and prosperity of both peoples.

We have lost forty years in Byzantine discussions and the national economy of both countries has sacrificed thousands of millions because commercial interchange has been almost nothing, even though Chile has bought from Peru to the value of 500,000,000 pesos during the last ten years.

The initiative of 1921 was unfortunate and an exchange of notes produced only an agitation of public opinion in both countries. The agreements at Washington and plebiscitary gestures resulted in separating Chile and Peru more than the previous diplomatic offensive which neither won the support nor the favor of sensible men.

Today we want to attain the solution by different methods, creating a cordial atmosphere, interchanging friendly ideas privately without magniloquent speeches, but with serious thought.

CHILE—Not only has Chile balanced her budget in 1928, but there is an estimated surplus of about \$2,400,000, according to a report of the Minister of Finance on Aug. 20. A steady improvement in finance and credit conditions since the Kemmerer reorganization of 1925 is shown. In 1926 there was a deficit of about \$26,000,-

000, whereas forecasts for 1929 indicate a surplus of about \$4,000,000. To cover the expense of an extensive public works plan, the flotation of a loan was contemplated in New York and London in September.

Succeeding Milés Poindexter, who recently resigned, the new United States Ambassador to Chile, William Culbertson, sailed for Chile toward the end of July.

ARGENTINA—The possibility of a reconciliation between the two wings of the Radical Party was seen this month when Dr. Marcelo T. Alvear, President of Argentina, and Hipolito Irigoyen, President-elect, met for the first time in six years at the bier of Vice President-elect Francisco Beiro. A split in the Radical Party, of which both men are members, was caused when these two leaders of the party disagreed.

The election of Dr. Enrico Martinez to fill the place of the late Vice President-elect was ratified by the National Congress on Aug. 11.

The new Argentine Ambassador to the United States, Manuel Malbran, arrived in Washington in August to take up his official duties as successor to Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon. Señor Malbran has been in the diplomatic service of Argentina for more than nineteen years.

BOLIVIA—Return to the gold standard has been effected recently in Bolivia through the recommendations of the Kemmerer commission. The national bank has been reorganized to provide a systematized budget, and the boliviano has been stabilized at 36.5, as against a previous parity at 38.9. The suggestion of the commission that an economic adviser to the Government be appointed in the United States has been approved by the Government.

BRAZIL—Two months of guerrilla warfare incited by disgruntled native diamond laborers were brought to a close during the month by José Morbeck, the "uncrowned king" of the Matto Grosso district. Difficulties first arose when the natives, finding that they had been paid in counterfeit money for their work in the stifling jungle, decided to revolt. They turned outlaws, burned the homes of the prospectors, robbing and massacring their

employers, but gave up after several defeats. Then Morbeck rounded up 10,000 of his own adherents, who overwhelmed the 2,000 outlaw natives and drove them into the neighboring State of Guyas. There they were disarmed at the Governor's command, and were given the opportunity to work in the diamond fields of that State.

COLOMBIA—In his message to the National Congress on Aug. 29, President Miguel Abadia Mendez spoke especially of the cordial relations now existing between Colombia and the countries of North and South America. He mentioned specifically the treaty with Peru signed during the month, which settled all questions of boundaries; the treaty with Nicaragua recognizing Colombian sovereignty over the San Andres and Providencia Archipelago; and the treaty under negotiation with Brazil which guarantees to Colombia free navigation of the Amazon River. He spoke of the "happy cordiality" existing between Colombia and the United States as well as the countries of Europe, and recommended that the Congress consider at once the question of international arbitration and other League questions.

During the month the President and his Cabinet issued a manifesto, which among other recommendations urged the following definite oil legislation:

1. Absolute guarantee of private property rights when legitimately acquired.
2. Clear definition of the nation's rights on oil-bearing subsoils in public and private lands, as well as on other hydrocarbon subsoils declared by law to be national property, in order to avoid, through legal action, the exploitation of the nation's property as if it were private property. The manifesto urges quick action in order to obtain the desired result.
3. Precise and definite regulation covering exploration of oil lands.
4. Organization of mixed companies in which the nation and private capital—both Colombian and foreign—would be interested, for the exploitation of oil lands belonging to the nation, as well as for the refining and marketing of the oil and the construction and exploitation of public pipelines.
5. Regulations covering the national oil reserves whose exploitation the country would not consider convenient at the present time.

The Government has accepted bids for the construction of a railroad from Bogotá to the Pacific. It was expected that work on the new route would commence within a short time.

Great Britain's New Efforts to Solve Unemployment Problem

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

AN appeal by the Prime Minister to 150,000 employers to find work for the unemployed men and boys in the depressed mining areas and the annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress have during the past month again emphasized the industrial character of Great Britain's most acute problems.

Mr. Baldwin's appeal followed the publication of the report of the Industrial Transference Board, which found that in respect to the transfer of unemployed men from the coal mining, ship building, iron and steel and heavy engineering industries in the depressed areas to other work in other areas the main contribution must be made by individual employers offering work to as many as possible, even if in some cases the number could amount to only one or two. The Prime Minister's letter, the dispatch of which was announced on Aug. 21, expressed the hope that there would be a widespread response to this suggestion. The Government's contribution to the solution of the problem, it was pointed out, was being made by providing training and traveling facilities. There are now 200,000 more miners than for required for coal mining, while considerable unemployment exist in other industries. The total number of unemployed in Great Britain has reached 1,300,000.

During the month of August arrangements were completed for the transportation of some 8,500 unemployed persons from British ports to the plains of Western Canada to assist in the harvesting of the bumper wheat crop of the prairie provinces of the Dominion. The movement, one of the largest of its sort in history, was directed by agents of the Canadian Government, with the cooperation of the British authorities. Recruiting centres were opened in four cities within the several areas of unemployment in Great Britain, and within a short time the Ministry of Labor an-

nounced that 25,000 applications had been received for the 10,000 jobs which were open. Later it was announced that steamship accommodations would be available for only 8,500 of the applicants and that, where possible, preference would be given to men from districts where the problem of unemployment was especially acute. A large proportion of the laborers who finally crossed the ocean were coal miners. Reduced rates were granted to the migrants by railroads and steamship companies, and the officials concerned expressed the hope that the majority of them would find permanent employment in Canada.

While this seasonal movement of labor was in progress, Lord Lovat, Under Secretary for the Dominions in the British Government, was engaged in conference with Canadian officials with reference to future migration of British unemployed workers to the Dominion on a considerable scale. Speaking in Winnipeg after discussions with the Premier of Manitoba, Lord Lovat expressed the hope that in the future Britons would number far more than half of the 100,000 immigrants which Canada was now absorbing annually. Preference, he declared, should be given to British as against Southern European immigrants.

The British unemployment problem also occupied the attention of the meeting in Canada of the Empire Parliamentary Association, which was attended by legislators from Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, India, Southern Rhodesia, the Irish Free State and Malta. The visitors landed in Quebec on Aug. 24 to spend six weeks in studying imperial and Canadian problems under the auspices of the Canadian branch of the association. Viscount Peel, Chairman of the British delegation, in a statement issued at Quebec, said:

"Among the questions to be discussed are

those of Empire trade and migration, and settlement within the Empire. These are, indeed, two aspects of the same problem. The more we can develop trade within the Empire the more rapidly we can carry through that redistribution of the white population of the Empire which is absolutely vital not only to Great Britain, but in quite equal degree, as we believe, to the other communities in the British Commonwealth. There is an unemployment problem today not only in Great Britain but in several of the Dominions, but members of the Imperial Parliament wish to make it perfectly clear beyond any possibility of misunderstanding that the homeland is not asking the Dominions to take her unemployed."

The British Trades Union Congress, held this year at Swansea, Wales, was opened on Sept. 3. The principal business was the consideration of the scheme of cooperation discussed at a series of meetings between union representatives and a group of employers headed by Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond). The question came to a vote on Sept. 6, when the congress, by 3,075,000 votes to 566,000, endorsed the policy of industrial cooperation between employers and workmen. This vote authorized the General Council to proceed with discussions with Lord Melchett and his colleagues on all questions of industrial relations and industrial reorganization, and to take steps in conjunction with the Confederation of Employers' Organizations and the Federation of British Industries to establish a national industrial council and machinery for the prevention of disputes.

Walter Citrine, who moved the adoption of the council's report on the conferences, declared that British trades unionism, far from being at the end of its development, was demanding a share in the control of industry. Participation in conferences with employers was a useful step in that direction. It meant that labor would secure a voice in that control without having to wait for the breakdown of capitalism.

Ernest Bevin, well known as the organizer of the dockers, boldly welcomed the nationalization of industry as far preferable to the slow process of squeezing the small employer into bankruptcy by large combines. He looked forward to the day when the Trades Union Congress would be occupied less with grievances than with large questions concerning the progress and development of industry. A. J. Cook, the miners' leader, opposed the report on the ground that trades unions existed not to cooperate with but to fight against capitalism. The conditions of the struggle had not changed and it was impossible, he declared, to reconcile the irreconcilable antagonisms of capital and labor.

The activities of Communists and other left wing groups in the Labor movement gave rise to a vehement debate in the congress on Sept. 4, when a resolution was moved calling on the General Council to find means of getting rid of those disrupting elements. While unions were suffering severe losses in membership, they were, various leaders stated, being torn in two by minority movement tactics. In reply Communists taunted union officials with the insinuation that they were actuated by anxiety to hold their own jobs rather than by solicitude for the welfare of the working class. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, referring to the continuing decrease in union membership, contended that after all allowance had been made for the effects of trade depression, the main cause was to be found in the discrediting of the trade unions, "not by people outside the movement, but by some who sit in the General Council and some who are general secretaries or paid organizers in the movement and who tell the workers not to believe what the leaders say, because the leaders have sold them." When the question was put to the congress the resolution was adopted by a large majority, only one union, that of the furnishing trades, voting as a unit in opposition to what its delegates called a heresy hunt.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN—With Parliament adjourned and its leaders scattered in all parts of the world, there has been a lull

in the political warfare in which all of the parties have been preparing for the general election of 1929. In the absence of

Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, who went to Aix-le-Bains on Aug. 12 for a month's vacation, Lord Hailsham (formerly Sir Douglas Hogg, who was Attorney General before his appointment as Lord Chancellor), it was announced by the press, had been appointed "Deputy Premier," or "Acting Prime Minister." Although such an office, or title, can hardly be said to be recognized in British constitutional practice, the statements which accompanied the announcement indicated that Lord Hailsham would perform certain routine functions of the Prime Minister and be responsible for summoning meetings of the Cabinet, should the necessity arise. Owing to Sir Austen Chamberlain's illness and his departure on a trip to San Francisco via Panama, Lord Cushendun (formerly Ronald MacNeill) has been acting as Foreign Secretary.

Before departing for his vacation Mr. Baldwin issued a formal statement intended to clarify the Conservative Party's position with reference to tax relief for industry, "safeguarding" certain industries by the imposition of duties sufficient to prevent "dumping," and the question of a protective tariff. The "main policy of the Government for the permanent relief of productive industry is the great scheme of de-rating, which was initiated in the session now closing," the Prime Minister declared on Aug. 3. "Safeguarding," he continued, "has been the law of the land since it was established as a principle by Mr. Lloyd George's Government in 1921. It was the policy we adopted at the last general election, and it will be continued." Mr. Baldwin was perfectly definite on the subject of protection, an issue upon which sharp differences of opinion exist within his party and even within his Cabinet. "We are pledged," he said, "and shall continue to be pledged, not to introduce protection. We are pledged, and shall continue to be pledged, not to impose any taxes on food."

The Labor Party gained another electoral success on Aug. 17 when its candidate, Captain Wedgwood Benn, was elected for North Aberdeen at a by-election necessitated by the death of Frank Rose, who won the seat for the party at the general election of 1924. In that year Rose polled 13,249 votes, to 8,545 votes cast for the

Conservative candidate. This year the Labor candidate polled 10,646 votes; the Conservative, 4,696; the Communist, 2,618, and the Liberal, 2,337. It was regarded as significant that in this contest between four parties Labor should have obtained a majority over the aggregate vote of the other three parties.

Viscount Haldane, one of the ablest and most gifted men in British public life, died on Aug. 19 at the age of 72. Educated in Scotland and Germany, he became a successful barrister in London and before long was elected to the House of Commons as a Liberal from a Scottish constituency. When Campbell-Bannerman formed his Liberal Cabinet at the end of 1905, Haldane became Secretary of War, and immediately set about reorganizing the army. He created the British Expeditionary Force and the Territorials, both of which proved their value in the World War, besides setting up a general staff as the "thinking department" of the army. In 1911 he became a peer, but remained Secretary of War, and in the following year went on an unsuccessful mission to Germany in the hope of effecting an arrangement to curb naval competition and establish more friendly relations. In May, 1912, Haldane left the War Office to become Lord Chancellor, but was left out of the Cabinet when the Coalition Government was formed in 1915. This was on account of the hostility that had been aroused by his attitude toward Germany, though leading statesmen have subsequently declared that no one contributed more than he did to the eventual success of the Allies. After the war he gravitated toward the Labor Party, and when Ramsay MacDonald formed his Labor Government he was appointed Lord Chancellor for the second time. Apart from his political interests he was an author of works on philosophy and education.

The departure on Sept. 6 of the Prince of Wales, accompanied by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, on a hunting trip in the British East African colonies, was regarded in some quarters as having more than its ostensible purpose of indulging the sporting tastes of King George's heir. Actually, it was believed, his object was to aid the British Government in the development of a new colonial empire to replace the

self-governing Dominions which have now attained nationhood and quasi-independence. British East Africa has vast natural resources, and already British families are settling there and beginning to develop an area of several hundred thousand square miles.

CANADA—Canadians found much of encouragement and satisfaction in the midsummer estimates of economic conditions in the Dominions. Speaking in Saskatchewan, Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared that the present Canadian prosperity was almost unprecedented. With 113 pulp and paper mills in operation, he stated, the Dominion led the world in the manufacture of newsprint, and exports more of this commodity than all the rest of the world combined. For the first half of this year the steel output of Canada had increased by 33 per cent. over the corresponding period of 1927, while during the first six months of 1928 the number of persons engaged in manufacturing had increased by 37,000. Savings deposits in Canadian banks had increased 9 per cent. as compared with a year ago, while general trade had been correspondingly prosperous. The greatest satisfaction, however, especially in the Western provinces, arose from the prospect that the wheat crop would be the largest in Canada's history. With 1,000,000 more acres in this grain than ever before, it was estimated that the crop would reach 500,000,000 bushels.

AUSTRALIA—Thousands of visitors crowded Sydney for the opening of the Eucharistic Congress on Sept. 5. Delegations of Roman Catholics were present from all parts of the world, among them a party of seventy members of the Catholic clergy of the United States, including several Bishops. Cardinal Bonaventura Cerretti, who was Apostolic Delegate to Aus-

tralia some years ago, attended as Papal Legate.

Both the State of New South Wales and the Federal Territory defeated prohibition at a referendum held on Sept. 1. In New South Wales the voting was 329,941 for prohibition and 818,312 against, not a single electoral district giving the dry forces a majority. Four proposals were submitted to the voters of the Federal Territory (which includes Canberra, the Capital of the Commonwealth): (1) Prohibition of possession of liquor; (2) continuance of the law prohibiting the sale of liquor; (3) sale of liquor under public control; (4) sale of liquor in licensed premises. The result was in favor of a licensing system, only 193 votes being cast for prohibition.

INDIA—Governmental changes of first-rate importance occurred in India on July 21, when the appointment of new Governors of the Punjab and the United Provinces was officially announced. Sir Malcolm Hailey, formerly the Home Member, or leader of the Government's forces, in the Indian Legislative Assembly, was promoted from the former post to the latter, while Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency succeeded him in the Punjab. Some idea of the importance of these positions is suggested by the number of people within the borders of the two provinces—almost 46,000,000 in the United Provinces and about 26,000,000 in the Punjab. Each of them has administrative and political problems of the most delicate nature, and there are no territories in India which require greater courage and skill on the part of the few British officials who are seeking to foster self-government without too great a sacrifice of good government in that subcontinent. Both appointments were well received in India, where the long and successful careers of the new Governors have won the respect of all communities.



Tide of French Friendship Turning Toward United States

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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PARIS was the centre of world interest on Aug. 27, when the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war was signed by the representatives of fifteen nations. This event, which takes rank with the foundation of the League of Nations and the Locarno pact as a forward step in the cause of world peace, is discussed in detail elsewhere in this issue. Attention may properly be called here, however, to some of the accompanying circumstances, and particularly to the renewal of expressions of good-will on the part of France and the United States. This feeling was manifested in many ways and notably in the splendid welcome given to Secretary Kellogg both at Le Havre and at Paris; in the comments of the French press; in the exchanges of messages between President Coolidge and President Doumergue, and in M. Briand's speech of welcome to the delegates. Expectations of Communist and other demonstrations against Mr. Kellogg—he landed in France on the anniversary of the Sacco-Vanzetti executions—led to the taking of unusual precautions for his safety and freedom from annoyance. Happily these precautions proved to be needless.

Mr. Kellogg is himself largely responsible for the good feeling which attended his every move in France. The journey to Paris was made upon the Ile de France, the pride of the French mercantile marine, and Mr. Kellogg seemed to win the French press from the moment of his landing at Le Havre. His initial statement, made on landing, apparently struck the right note, for the *Journal des Débats*, in commenting on it, pointed out that Mr. Kellogg had spoken of the treaty as "a pact to make war more difficult," and continued as follows: "He took care not to say, 'It will make war impossible.' There is a world of hope in the document, but that hope, to

become reality, needs to be made very precise. We are only in the vestibule of the Temple of Peace."

Equally important with the gracious acknowledgment of French participation in the development of the pact was Mr. Kellogg's simple and democratic bearing throughout his stay. His visit to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier stood out in sharp contrast to the pilgrimages of some individuals and organizations to the tomb, with the attendant clicking of cameras, a form of publicity which the French press has severely condemned. Secretary Kellogg went quietly to the memorial, placed a wreath of roses tied with red, white and blue ribbons but wholly devoid of identifying inscription, knelt in silence for a moment, and then departed as unostentatiously as he had come. There has been criticism, of course, and some disappointment, because of Mr. Kellogg's failure to discuss international matters not connected with the treaty. His fixed policy of silence was in contrast with the heart-moving oratory of M. Briand, who in his address of welcome seemed to reach again the heights of his speech at Geneva when Germany was admitted to the League of Nations. The Secretary rebuked a French journalist who insisted on an answer to a question as to whether the United States Senate would ratify the pact. When one considers what happened to the Versailles treaty, however, it is not hard to see that Mr. Kellogg's policy, while not one that appeals to the emotions, is perhaps more truly in the interest of success in the undertaking than would be a soul-stirring address, with its possibilities of misinterpretation of some statement made in the flush of enthusiasm. One unfortunate remark might have prejudiced beyond hope of recall the prospects of Senatorial approval of the pact.

At all events there is no doubt that Mr.

Kellogg, America and the treaty struck a responsive chord in French hearts. Paris was bedecked with flags and bunting and the streets were brilliantly illuminated throughout the night. Social events and popular demonstrations made the assembled diplomats feel that the city, for the time being at any rate, was completely theirs.

The only jarring note was struck by a group of women, including three Americans, who attempted to force their way into the Elysée, where President Doumergue was entertaining the signatories to the treaty, in order to present a demand for an international equal-rights-for-women agreement. A number of the demonstrators were arrested. A reported interview with Mrs. Kellogg, later disavowed, referred to the activities of the group as "out of place" and "smacking of notoriety-seeking." Certainly the activities of the group were in questionable taste. More important, however, is the possibility that such tactics may injure the cause of equal suffrage in France. French women are essentially conservative and are likely to confuse the boisterousness of "militant" feminists with the disorder of Communists and other disturbers of the peace. When suffrage comes in France it will probably owe little to such methods. Of interest in connection with woman suffrage are the reported results of an inquiry by the *Echo de Paris* among its women readers as to their reasons for desiring suffrage, which brought out the following, in the order named, as the dominant motives: Defense of religion, protection of the family and opposition to communism.

Reference has been made to Secretary Kellogg's policy, announced before he left America, not to discuss international questions during his visit to Paris. Such questions, of course, are pressing for solution, and the only justification for silence was the obvious desire not to injure the cause of the treaty itself before the Senate. Chief among these were the problems of the war debts and reparations, the evacuation of the Rhineland and disarmament. Premier Poincaré at a meeting of his Cabinet on Aug. 23 announced that France would seek to reopen Franco-American debt negotiations this Fall. Disarmament is complicated by the rather mysterious Franco-

British naval accord, announced in the British Parliament by Sir Austen Chamberlain on July 30, concerning which guesses and rumors of a somewhat divergent sort have been flying about. Reassurance of a kind came from M. Georges Leygués, Minister of Marine, in an interview in *Le Matin* on Aug. 31, in which he denied that the accord contains any secret clauses or any agreement for joint naval or military action by France and Britain. He also denied that the accord was an infringement of the Washington naval convention. All Governments, he said, would eventually have an opportunity to study the text, and he added, "I defy any one to find in it anything that is not clear, frank and loyal."

The conservative press of Paris has been disturbed by the attitude of French Socialists, notably of Léon Blum, one of the Socialist leaders, who was defeated in the last elections, at the Socialist International meeting in Brussels, which opened on Aug. 5. The congress went on record as favoring the immediate evacuation of the Rhineland.

On Sept. 1 Premier Poincaré entertained the members of his Cabinet at his home in Sampigny in celebration of the completion of the second year of the National Union Ministry as well as the Premier's sixty-eighth birthday. Poincaré's birthday fell on Aug. 20, but the celebration was postponed. It was indicated that the Cabinet discussed some of the problems mentioned above, especially in relation to the approaching meeting of the League of Nations. All the members of the Cabinet were present except Albert Sarraut, who was delayed by a railroad accident. On the following day Maurice Bokanowski, Minister of Commerce and Aviation and Director of Posts and Telegraphs, one of the most popular, as he was one of the youngest members of the Cabinet, lost his life with four others in an aviation accident near Toul. M. Bokanowski had celebrated his forty-ninth birthday on Aug. 31. A lawyer, he was elected Deputy in 1914 and then joined the army, being severely wounded and winning the Cross of the Legion of Honor for bravery. In 1919 he again became a Deputy and in 1924 was appointed Minister of Marine in Poin-

caré's Cabinet of March of that year. From the opening of the last Parliament in May, 1924, until the formation of the National Union Government in 1926, Bokanowski was a brilliant leader of the Centre against the Left Cartel, and when Poincaré returned to power Bokanowski assumed the posts he held at his death. In 1927 he visited the United States, speaking at the meeting of the American Bar Association at Buffalo on Aug. 31 of that year. During his stay he made several flights with Commander Byrd.

For the time being the deceased Cabinet member's duties will be assumed by two of his colleagues, M. André Queuille, Minister of Agriculture, acting as Minister of Commerce and Industry, with supervision of posts, telephones and telegraphs, and M. Georges Leygues, Minister of the Navy, acting as Minister of Aviation.

Bokanowski's death has called attention to an apparent decline in French aviation. Press criticism has been directed to the recent death of Maurice Drouhin, the postponement or failure of various long flights, the apparently definite proof of the loss of the Amundsen party, the Saint-Roman tragedy and numerous deaths of military aviators; and in the commercial field, the apparent eclipse of French commercial aviation, engine and airplane building and airplane design by the Germans. Closer control over aviation is demanded, and it is even said that Bokanowski was himself a victim of the subordination of the Aviation Ministry because of his dual duties, with consequent lessened efficiency in the secondary department, though he was an inveterate user of the airplane method of transportation.

With the Alsatian problem temporarily quiescent, the autonomist spirit in Brittany came to the fore when the Government prevented the holding of the annual congress for an autonomous Brittany at Châteaulin. The Government apparently took a more serious view of the movement than its importance or extent would seem to justify. Trouble in another quarter was indicated by the dispatch from Martinique of fifty marines and fifty gendarmes to quell disturbances in French Guiana, believed to have been caused by the death of Deputy Jean Galmot, the sole representa-

tive of Guiana in the French Parliament, who died under mysterious circumstances on Aug. 6. His family maintains that he was poisoned by political opponents. Difficulties have also arisen in the French mandate of Syria, where the French High Commissioner, M. Henri Ponsot, suspended the Constituent Assembly of Syria for three months after the Assembly had adopted a constitution that was tantamount to a declaration of independence, not aimed at France, but at the League, which assigned the mandate to France. The new constitution, according to *Le Temps*, provided for a parliamentary republic with a president at its head, Damascus as the capital and Mohammedanism as the State religion.

Marie Emile Fayolle, Marshal of France, died on Aug. 27. He was the first of France's six marshals of the World War to die. The first American divisions were under his command in the Spring of 1918.

M. Paul Painlevé, Minister of War, has suggested that his title be changed to Minister of the Army, believing that the change would emphasize the intention to use the French army as an agency solely of defense. The ideal title, he says, would be Minister of National Defense, but that would involve amalgamation of the departments of War and Marine, for which the time is not ripe.

On Aug. 21 Premier Poincaré issued an outline of the budget for 1929. By severe cutting of recommendations for appropriations, the budget will not involve increased taxes. There will be 1,000,000,000 francs additional for national defense, 1,200,000,000 francs additional for public works and 1,000,000,000 francs for the housing plan. This additional expenditure will be met in part from the 1,000,000,000 francs to be received under the Dawes plan.

The Aug. 30 statement of the Bank of France showed a gain in the gold reserve of 92,000,000 francs. Less than 1,300 persons are receiving an unemployment bonus in all of France, according to a Government statement on Aug. 18. The task of restoring the French railways damaged or destroyed in the World War has finally been completed. The railroads are producing a profit for the first time since the war, and freight and passenger traffic shows

an increase over 1913. The State railways have recently adopted a block system, with automatic train control features, which will be installed as rapidly as conditions will permit. The national system of posts, telephones and telegraphs is to be modernized at an initial expense of 3,750,000,000 francs, the proceeds of an internal loan.

BELGIUM—The King and Queen of the Belgians, who had been absent for some weeks in the Congo, returned to Belgium on Aug. 31. During their tour of the Congo they flew 1,400 miles, the King piloting his own plane, the Queen following in another. While they were away the Princess Marie José, their only daughter, took advantage of her parents' absence to make a flight herself. As her two brothers are aviation

enthusiasts, the entire royal family appears to be converted to air travel.

Belgium may ultimately rival Switzerland as a meeting place for international congresses. The International Congress of Esperantists met last month in Antwerp, the International Socialist Congress at Brussels, the Congress Against Alcoholism at Antwerp, and on Sept. 10 the International Telegraph Conference at Brussels.

On Aug. 21 the Italian consulate at Liège was damaged by a bomb explosion which slightly injured the concierge. It was believed that the outrage was the work of anti-Fascists, seeking revenge against an Italian spy who had denounced two Italians suspected of having been involved in an attempted assassination of the King of Italy in Milan early this year.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

Germany Celebrates Anniversary of Adoption of Constitution

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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ON Aug. 11 all Germany celebrated the ninth anniversary of the adoption of the Weimar Constitution—the day which the Democratic Party demands should be made a national holiday. Meetings, street parades, fireworks and oratory everywhere abounded. The black, red and gold colors of the republic fluttered over the public buildings of every city in the land, and houses, buses, tramways and places of business were literally bedecked with republican colors. The Reichsbanner, a semi-military organization whose avowed purpose is to protect the republic against monarchists, Bolsheviki or other intriguers against the present form of government, turned out in tens of thousands throughout the Reich to renew their pledges to the flag. Frankfort-on-the-Main was the scene of a special Reichsbanner rally, and more than 200,000 marched through the streets of that South German city. As a mark of courtesy, all the foreign

embassies and consulates flew their flags, the Spanish and Italian envoys flying the German banner besides their own. Dr. Radbruch, professor in the University of Berlin, delivered in the Reichstag an address in which he referred to President von Hindenburg, who was sitting in a loge, as "the first soldier of the old Reich and the first citizen of the new republic." His audience went wild when he concluded by saying: "The black, red and gold banner, the Weimar Constitution and the German Republic will endure."

The Constitution Day celebration was hardly over before the Government found itself face to face with a threatened revolt of the Socialists, occasioned by the decision of the Cabinet to proceed with the construction of the first of the six 10,000-ton armored cruisers allowed under the Treaty of Versailles. The Socialists had led the bitter struggle against voting funds for the cruiser in the last Reichstag. The

opposition to an armored cruiser was directed by Dr. Otto Braun, the Socialist Premier of Prussia, who said that in view of the serious financial situation and increasing reparation obligations Germany could not afford to build luxuries such as battleships. It would be much better, he argued, to expend this money for other purposes, and base German foreign power not on inadequate battleships, but on the weapons of a defenseless nation—justice and understanding. When the Socialists won a sweeping victory in the Parliamentary elections it was generally expected that the armored cruiser would be doomed. When the announcement, therefore, was made that the Socialist members of the Cabinet had approved spending money on the project, a storm of popular indignation broke loose, press and platform bitterly condemning Chancellor Mueller and his party colleagues.

So formidable was the condemnatory onslaught that the Chancellor and his Cabinet associates felt compelled to explain their action. The Reichstag and Federal Council, the Chancellor said, had already approved the measure, and the only question left for the Cabinet to decide was whether the appropriation would work a hardship on the Treasury. Investigation showed that the money could be spared, and the Cabinet had informed the Federal Council to that effect. An uncompromising attitude on the part of the Socialist Ministers, he added, would merely have provoked a Cabinet crisis without blocking construction of the warship. A Cabinet crisis was avoided when the Socialist Reichstag Deputies, who had convened to discuss the matter, voted by a large majority to accept Dr. Mueller's explanation. The Socialist Ministers did not escape unscathed, as the party adopted a resolution expressing "deep regret" over the failure of the Ministers to make themselves acquainted with party feeling before agreeing to sanction the warship. But "in view of the collective interests of the working classes" the Socialist parliamentarians decided that participation by the party in the Coalition Government should be continued. The reactionary papers have used the Cabinet's action to trump up charges that the Socialist Government was betraying the voters to whom it had promised

"child feeding but no warships." The Communists used the occasion to demand that the Reichstag be called at once to prevent the Mueller Government using Germany's resources for armaments rather than spending them on welfare work and furthering causes supported by the Communists.

At the first Cabinet meeting he has attended since the formation of the present German Government, Foreign Minister Stresemann on Aug. 22 warned his colleagues against undue optimism regarding allied evacuation of the Rhineland. While hopeful about the liberation of the second, or Coblenz, zone of occupation in the near future, Herr Stresemann expressed doubt that France could be persuaded to withdraw altogether from German soil unless Premier Poincaré received a *quid pro quo* in the form of reparational concessions wholly unacceptable to the Reich. The French conditions were reported to be as follows: First, German cooperation in the early marketing of a large part of the railroad and industrial securities created by the Dawes plan. Second, a definite German promise to give up efforts for political union between Germany and Austria. Third, permanent international control of the Rhineland to insure military neutrality. Fourth, better relations between Germany and Poland. Fifth, reimbursement of 7,000,000 marks seized in Belgium by the German Army during occupation. While the French do not expect Germany to accept all these conditions, there is every evidence that the Germans are willing to discuss some of the terms.

Germany's industrial situation does not show any great change over the last few months. The newly published trade returns for the first half of 1928 indicated an improvement as compared with the corresponding half of 1927. The improvement, however, was rather less than expected. As against an import surplus of 1,988,000,000 marks in the first half of 1927, there was an import surplus of 1,662,000,000 in the first half of 1928. The figures indicate that there can be no hope of an active trade balance in the present year.

Apart from the heavy import surplus of foodstuffs which cannot be cured for a long time, if ever, it is the textile branch which places the heaviest burden on the trade



[The foreign press is not favorable to the union of Germany and Austria.]
 "Brothers here! brothers there! We forbid you to be brothers!"

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*

balance. This burden is due to the fact that Germany imports the greater part of her textile raw materials, and that she consumes the greater part of the finished product at home, so that her export surpluses in cloth and finished clothing are small.

During the month under review Germany has launched the two largest ships afloat, the *Europa* and the *Bremen*; both vessels become part of the North German Lloyd fleet and will operate between Germany and New York. Each is 938 feet long, or 25 feet longer than any other ship afloat; they are each equipped with super-decks larger than any others to be used for purposes of recreation. Their combined tonnage is 92,000. The Lloyd fleet now contains 434 vessels with a gross tonnage of 861,000. This is 120,000 tons below the pre-war figures; the total tonnage now flying the Reich's flag is 70 per cent. of that before the war, and the German merchant marine is now fourth in the world, following England, America and Japan. A year ago Germany stood sixth. Statistics for the second quarter of 1928 show that Germany

retained her place as the second largest shipbuilding nation with a total gross tonnage of 407,000 against England's 1,200,000.

An increase in German passenger and freight rates is practically assured by the decision of the Railroad Arbitration Court, although contrary to the wishes of the Reichstag. The Court briefly states that the *Reichsbahn* is fully justified in changing the rates in such a manner that the income will amount to 250,000,000 marks more annually. The increase is to be apportioned in such manner that the freight traffic shall yield 200,000,000 marks more, and the passenger service 50,000,000. This decision practically amounts to a victory for S. Parker Gilbert, Reparations Agent General, who some time ago supported the view of the German Railroad Commissioner that additional revenues were needed to make possible the necessary improvements without endangering the reparation obligations.

Despite all the efforts of the Government and the press to discourage crowding in the learned professions, German universities are more crowded than ever before.

According to a report published the last of August the number of enrolled students for the first time exceeds 100,000 and is 20 per cent. higher than it was before the war.

AUSTRIA—Dr. Michael Hainisch, President of the Republic of Austria, celebrated his seventieth birthday on Aug. 15. Newspapers of surrounding countries as well as in Austria devoted a number of columns to historical and eulogistic accounts of his life. Among other things, they stressed the quiet way in which he has filled his office and his impartiality in dealing with the Socialists and Anti-Socialists. Even the Socialist organ, the *Arbeiterzeitung* of Vienna, hailed him as extremely capable, and reminded its readers that he was elected without a dissenting vote.

Despite the efforts of its opponents both in Austria and Germany, as well as in foreign lands, the *Anschluss*, or union of Germany and Austria movement, is still very much to the fore. Instead of being a political manoeuvre on the part of a few fire-eating Pan-Germanists, as the *Paris Temps* repeatedly dubs it, it is in reality a movement which is apparently commanding increased popular support in both countries. The Austrian agrarians, it is true, oppose it; but their opposition is offset by the growing sentiment among an increased number of Viennese for union. During the Vienna song festival Paul Loebe, President of the German Reichstag, in the course of a number of fiery speeches declared that the Austrians and Germans were a "united people, a united nation," and that they wished once more to be a united State. It is true that Dr. Loebe, who is President of the German-Austrian National League, a society founded three years ago to promote the union of the two countries, is regarded as an out-and-out propagandist, but even so, it is evident that the strong Socialist parties in both countries are swinging more and more in the direction of union. Evidence of this is seen in the fact that no sooner had Chancellor Mueller taken office than he sent a telegram to the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, expressing the wish for closer cooperation between the two countries. There is no

doubt that the German Socialists as a party are much more eager for *Anschluss* than the parties of the Right, for union with Austria would swell the ranks of the former and thereby give them a strangle-hold on the government of the Reich. George Bernhard, editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*, declared that the recent Vienna demonstration was not an ebullition of Pan-Germanism but of Pan-Europeanism. Certainly, as Bernhard pointed out, the real driving force behind the *Anschluss* is neither beer nor song, but economic necessity. Even the Succession States are beginning to see dangers inherent in the "Balkanization of Europe." Bernhard urges the French Liberal press to aim their shafts at protectionism and the exaggerated nationalism afflicting Europe. "It would be more to the point," said he, "if the French press, instead of devoting so much passion and spite toward the little question of German-Austrian *Anschluss*, would cooperate in accelerating the unification of Europe. Then German-Austrian *Anschluss* would become a mere bagatelle." Dr. Seipel, although himself opposed to the union of the two countries, has, however, vetoed the proposal of Dr. Benès, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, that a Central European customs union be organized by the States formerly in the Dual Monarchy on the ground that Austria will not be a party to any combination from which Germany is excluded.

Separate treaties of arbitration and conciliation were signed at the Department of State on Aug. 16 between the Governments of the United States and Austria.

HOLLAND—According to official figures, Dutch imports for the first half of 1928 totaled 1,343,000,000 guilders, not including gold imports, comparing with imports of 1,227,000,000 guilders in the first half of 1927. Exports for the half year totaled 933,000,000 guilders, against 897,000,000 last year. Raw materials exported decreased 17,000,000, which is considered a favorable development. Exports to the Dutch Indies were 90,000,000 against 61,000,000, featuring the growing colonial trade, which rose from 5.4 per cent. to 7.1 per cent. of total foreign trade.

Italy's Treaties with Yugoslavia and Abyssinia

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE ratification of the Nettuno agreements with Italy [discussed in detail on Page 159 of this issue], pushed through in the Belgrade Parliament in spite of opposition on Aug. 13, was followed by riots and demonstrations against Italian consulates. The anti-Italian feeling was intensified by the action of an Italian cement firm at Trieste, which suddenly gave notice to 250 Yugoslav workmen in its Spoleto factory of their discharge. This action occasioned a widespread rumor that all Italian-owned business establishments intended to follow suit, a rumor which aroused still further feelings already irritated.

In Italy, on the contrary, the conclusion of the treaty was hailed as the basis for more cordial relations and the opportunity for more friendly cooperation. There is no ground, however, according to the *Corriere della Sera*, for considering it in any respect as an instrument of Italian hegemony in the Balkans or of "insidious machinations against the interests or the sovereignty of Yugoslavia."

Another treaty of importance to Italy was signed on Aug. 2 with Abyssinia. In this case, also, it marks the end of long negotiations, carried on between England and Italy, on the one hand, and Abyssinia, on the other, with the purpose of providing for mutual help in obtaining concessions from the Abyssinian Government. England wished certain rights in connection with the waters of the White Nile, while Italy wished the right to build a railroad through Abyssinian territory. This led to a protest to the League of Nations by the Abyssinian Government, followed by explanations from the Italian press declaring that Italy had not the slightest intention of infringing Abyssinian sovereignty.

In the present case the desired concessions were obtained by direct negotiations. They appear to be not unconnected with a

visit to Abyssinia of the Duke of Abruzzi and a group of Italian financiers. They are of special value to Italy in connection with her control of the neighboring colony of Eritrea, and include the creation of an Abyssinian zone at Assab in Eritrea, and the building of a road suitable for motor trucks from Assab into the interior of Abyssinia. According to the Italian press, this is the first time that Abyssinia in full independence has drawn up a treaty with a great European Power. She is also to be congratulated, says the *Corriere della Sera*, on the fact that the Power is Italy which, from its experience in dealing with Mohammedans in its neighboring colony, can be of help to the Abyssinian Government. Abyssinia will also have the benefit of Italian capital in the development of its natural resources and of Italian civilization. The benefits to Italy of Abyssinia's rich resources are also not overlooked. Indeed, this treaty is apparently regarded as one of Mussolini's greatest achievements. According to one newspaper, it is "worth ten Kellogg pacts."

Toward the Kellogg pact the attitude of the Italian press in general was at the best lukewarm. While publishing full accounts of the ceremonies connected with the signing, only one or two newspapers added comment, and that in sarcastic vein. A writer in the *Lavoro d'Italia* says:

Mr. Kellogg is not the man to use his personality and influence to perform acts merely in order to win the Nobel Prize next year. He is a delegate of the richest country in the world, which aspires to become the most powerful. He came in a passenger vessel, but will depart in a warship. He shows the gilded statue of peace, but holds the purse strings tight. He offers his friendship to China and Egypt, but denies freedom to Panama and Nicaragua, where he sends soldiers and cannon. He covers the contradiction of his policy with a cloak of illogical doctrine, dictated by ambition, which he styles "practical idealism."

The heirs of the ancient civilization, refined by tradition and possessing fine diplomatic instincts, the representatives of the oldest and most powerful European Powers,

understand the futility of such gestures as the Kellogg compact. But the United States possesses too powerful means of vengeance for any one to dare to rebel openly. Uncle Sam may occasionally have peculiar tastes, but, seeing that they are innocuous, why contradict him, since he is so rich? The other great Powers have a leading position which they wish to maintain at all costs, while Italy, not possessing natural riches, sees in treaties such as the Kellogg compact merely an attempt to consolidate their positions. The Kellogg compact find its grave in signature, while the struggle between the nations sees new bloody days arising. Soon, not even the clauses of the compact of renunciation of war will be remembered. Tomorrow discussion will be on Anglo-American naval rivalry, on the French attempts to consolidate the Versailles treaty, the German attempt to break it down, on hegemonic interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine and on Great Britain's defense of its imperial interests. The reservations to the treaty are indices of the operating forces. They are history. The compact itself is a mere episode of one day.

The organ of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano*, on the other hand, laments the cynical attitude of the Italian press. The 27th of August, 1928, will be a fruitful day in human history, it declares. The pact may not mark the end of war, but it does mark the beginning of the consciousness that war is not only unprofitable, but that it is actually a crime.

Within Italy the Fascist régime continues its work especially along educational lines. Recent orders from the Ministry of Education provide for new textbooks for elementary schools "calculated to rear children in a healthful spirit of Fascism," for the adaptation of universities to the needs of their respective districts and for the regulation of archaeological investigation. The Government also concerns itself with the development of the Fascist spirit among the working class through the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, familiarly known as the O. N. D. This organization, whose name may be roughly translated as "Leisure Hours"—literally, "After Work"—has been developed with special vigor during the last few months under the supervision of Signor Augusto Turati, the Secretary General of the Fascist Party. It claims a membership of 538,337, of which over 150,000 are railway employees and 30,000 are in the service of the Post and Telegraph. Its various branches organize excursions, offer prizes, produce plays, hold competitions and provide for popular education. In short, it is de-

signed, through welfare work, technical and physical education and the promotion of sports and recreation, to develop national—that is to say, Fascist—interests and to encourage patriotism.

Among Italians outside of Italy Fascism is also at work. Dr. Parini, formerly connected with the newspaper *Popolo d'Italia*, has been named Secretary of the Fascists abroad. Under his direction the newspaper *Legionario*, published at Rome and devoted to their interests, has been enlarged and arrangements made for keeping in close touch with members of the party, wherever they may be.

Opponents of Fascism abroad also continue to find that the Fascist régime has a long arm. This is certainly true in the case of General Cesare Rossi. Having ventured to cross the frontier incognito, he was arrested by Fascist agents. One of the founders of Fascism, General Rossi had risen to be the head of the Fascist Press Bureau. His break with Mussolini came over the Matteotti affair. When arrested for complicity in the murder of Matteotti he charged the Government with having actually instigated it. Although he was not held for trial, he fled from Italy and became a leader of the anti-Fascist exiles in France. His case comes under the jurisdiction of the special military tribunal established by a law passed in November, 1926, to deal with attempts to undermine or to subvert by violence the present régime in Italy, whether such activities are carried on in Italy or abroad. This law reads in part:

Any citizen who outside of Italian territory spreads or communicates in any form false, exaggerated or tendentious news or reports concerning internal conditions in the Kingdom in such way as to damage Italian prestige or credit abroad or who in any way pursues activity which injures the national interests is punishable by five to fifteen years' imprisonment and perpetual interdiction from public office.

A curb to the development of Fascist interests was seen by Mussolini in the reported decline of the Italian birth rate. The suggestion that the lessened numbers might be compensated for by improved stock, he declared, was entirely mischievous. "Without quantity," he wrote in a recent article, "there is no quality; without numbers there is no power."

In matters economic, an increase in an adverse balance of trade was reported. It was explained by increased purchases of wheat and sugar owing to the insufficient crops of 1927. The present wheat crop was said to be satisfactory. There was also reported a decrease in unemployment and the resumption of industrial activity.

The recent naval manoeuvres were interrupted by catastrophe when an Italian destroyer sank a submarine, resulting in the death of thirty-one men.

SPAIN—Plans are under way for a Hispanic-American Exposition, to be held in Seville next October, and for an international exhibition of industrial and commercial arts and sciences, to be inaugurated at Barcelona in April, 1929.

The Spanish Government has been engaged in securing credit abroad in order to stabilize the value of the peseta. It was understood that about \$25,000,000 was secured through a New York syndicate, and a like amount in London, but that these efforts to bolster the Exchange were not permanently successful.

The establishment of a foreign Bank of Spain with a capital of 150,000,000 pesetas (about \$25,000,000) as of Aug. 6 was announced on Aug. 11 by the Spanish Govern-

ment. The statement said: "The new Bank will operate in the closest accord with the Bank of Spain and was especially constituted to assist foreign enterprises using or selling Spanish products and to make loans in favor of States or public service corporations in Spanish America, Brazil, Portugal and the Philippines." The note added that the object of the Government in creating the Bank was to increase the ties between Spain and the Americas. It further explained that "the Bank shares will be issued in denominations of 500 pesetas. Two-thirds of the stock will be underwritten in Spain and the rest will be offered abroad."

The attitude of Spain toward the Kellogg multilateral treaty was not altogether cordial. The Spanish press was particularly concerned about the relation between the new treaty and the Monroe Doctrine. According to *La Epoca*,

The Monroe Doctrine is an influence directly opposed to the development of unity between Spain and Spanish America. * * * If there is either in the text or in the margin of the pact a reserve in favor of the Monroe Doctrine, is it not the imperious duty of Spain to withhold approval? She should give her adhesion only to the letter of the pact and not to deviations and interpretations which this text may suffer. Spain must think first of all of her solidarity with the Spanish-American countries, and before she puts her signature to the document it might be well to have an exchange of views with their Governments.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

The Political Crisis In Yugoslavia

By **FREDERIC A. OGG**

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YUGOSLAVIA continued during the past month to be the main centre of interest in Southeastern Europe, by reason of two events chiefly, i. e., the death of the Croat leader, Stefan [Stephen] Raditch, on Aug. 8, and the ratification of the Nettuno Convention with Italy five days subsequently. Both added fresh elements to a political situation fairly to be described as critical.

The death of M. Raditch came as a result of a wound inflicted on June 20 by a Nationalist Deputy who ran amuck in the

Skupshtina, killing two members and injuring a number of others before he could be seized and disarmed. The assassin was a supporter of the Vukichevich Ministry, then in power, and the men killed or wounded were leaders or adherents of the Croatian Peasant Party. As recorded last month, the affair gave rise to a prolonged political crisis, culminating in the installation of a new Ministry on July 27 presided over by the Clerical, Father Koroshetz. It led also to an insistent demand from the Croatians that the Skupshtina be dissolved



THE GREAT UNKNOWN

Who knows what new surprises are reserved to us by the kingdom where such a bitter struggle rages?

—Il Treveso, Rome

and a "fair" election held, and, when this was refused, to a boycott of the Assembly by the entire bloc of Croatian members. Not only that, but the seceding members, eighty-five in number, organized a rival Parliament at Zagreb and passed resolutions refusing to recognize any laws enacted by the "Rump" Parliament at Belgrade and declaring that financial obligations imposed by it would have no validity.

In the Skupshtina at Belgrade, reassembling on the same day for the first time since the tragedy of June 20, Premier Koroshetz, after paying tribute to the murdered Deputies, pronounced the crime an isolated and personal act of a single misguided member, who would be held criminally responsible, and declared that the Ministry would be very sorry not to have the collaboration of all parties, whether on the Government or the Opposition side. The policy of the new Cabinet was outlined, including the ratification of the long-pending Nettuno agreements, and the Government's intention to enforce the Constitution and the laws as against any and all secessionist proceedings was unequivocally asserted.

While the country feverishly awaited the

outcome of M. Raditch's injury, fuel was added to the flames by another political assassination. On Aug. 5 a Croatian railway worker, Josop Sunich, shot dead Vlada Ristovich, managing editor of a recently established Belgrade newspaper, *Yedinstvo* [Unity], organ of the Vukichevich wing of the Radical party, by way of revenge for the shooting in the Skupshtina on June 20. Ristovich's paper had been violently anti-Croatian, and the editor had been warned against showing himself in Zagreb. He nevertheless went there to visit two of his children who were in a Catholic school, and the murder followed.

Meanwhile M. Raditch, in his Zagreb home, was fighting for his life. For some weeks after his injury he was expected to recover; but during the first days of August heart attacks came on and specialists were summoned from Vienna and other cities. On the 6th it became known that the end was near, and thousands of mourning followers gathered as near the house as a heavy cordon of police permitted. Croatian leaders urged that the expected death should not be made an occasion for uncontrolled anti-Serb outbursts, and the Belgrade Government was understood to have taken such precautionary measures as it deemed necessary. From such foreign watch-towers as Paris, Vienna, Prague and Budapest, the situation was watched anxiously; for peace or civil war in Yugoslavia—and perchance in the Balkans generally—seemed not unlikely to hang on the wounded leader's death or recovery.

On the morning of Aug. 8 people breathed freer, because the physicians reported that their patient's chance of recovery was improved. But before the day was over the battle went against them; at 9 in the evening, after a sharp relapse, the unfortunate statesman expired. And thus was removed from the stormy scene of Yugoslav politics, at the age of 45, the figure of greatest importance by far since the death of the veteran Nicholas Pashich in 1926.

Mourned as probably no king or emperor was ever mourned by Croatsians, the dead leader was borne to his grave on Sunday, Aug. 12. Instead of turning the country into a semi-revolutionary madhouse, his passing was made the occasion for touching but entirely orderly demonstrations of

affection. The Belgrade Government offered to give the deceased, although he had been its severest critic, a state funeral, as is customary for Ministers and ex-Ministers; but this honor the leaders declined. They even asked the Government not to send any representatives to the funeral, lest some occasion should be presented for the populace to break over bounds. This did not prevent Government newspapers from paying tribute to the deceased as a man who never betrayed his ideals, who served the peasants as no other man could have done, who united the peasants into a body which is a miraculously solid political entity, and who was one of the most capable men, cleverest politicians, and greatest orators whom Yugoslavia had ever produced.

The termination of the impressive ceremonies at Zagreb left the situation tense and the future uncertain. By order of the leaders, all Croats were required to observe a six weeks' period of mourning, and during the first third of the period no public demonstrations were to take place. That the ultimate effect would be to strengthen the Croat demand for autonomy—if not a separate Parliament, at all events a separate administration and judiciary—could not be doubted; and it was the opinion of many observers that the goal would be brought perceptibly nearer.

While these events were in progress, the waters were being stirred by another and not wholly unconnected happening. This was the Skupshtina's decision to ratify the Nettuno agreements with Italy, concluded three years previously (July 20, 1925), but held in abeyance because of the hostility of large sections of people and press in Yugoslavia, especially in the western part of the country, where the conventions were regarded as a direct threat by Italy. The opposition came mainly from the Agrarians, who strenuously objected to the clauses permitting Italians to acquire land along the Dalmatian coast and for thirty miles inland. Notwithstanding that final approval of the treaties would be certain to increase the bitterness between Serbs and Croats at a time when feeling had already been raised to a high pitch by the events mentioned earlier in this article, the Government insisted that ratification take place without further delay, in order that the country's

good faith be established in the eyes of the world. On Aug. 5 a special Parliamentary Committee recommended ratification, by a vote of 16 to 1; and on Aug. 13, with the entire Opposition absent from the Skupshtina, the final action was unanimously taken, thus ending the long drawn-out battle between Serbs and non-Serbs on this phase of the country's international relations. Dealing as they do with the commercial and other rights of Italians on the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia, the treaties were hailed in Italian press and official circles as making for improved Italo-Yugoslav relations. The Croats generally, however, and also many Serbs, regarded them as humiliating and oppressive; and feeling on the subject promised to continue strong long after the completed documents had been filed in the chancelleries.

Having completed its immediate tasks, the Skupshtina adjourned on Aug. 14 for an indefinite period; and at the same time it was said authoritatively that the body would be dissolved in the Fall and a new general election held under a Government in which the Croats would participate strongly. To the date of writing, however, all overtures intended to commit the disaffected elements to reappearance in the existing Skupshtina, if reassembled, had failed. Indeed, on Aug. 21 it was reported that the Peasants' Party had decided to appeal to the Inter-Parliamentary Union for public and official recognition of the split in the old Skupshtina. In the middle of August the Executive Committee of the Peasants' Party named Dr. Vladimar Natchek as "substitute President," while solemnly declaring that Stefan Raditch "is still leader and will remain President of the party, although he is dead." For several days after the Skupshtina's adjournment, "anti-Nettuno" riots and other demonstrations were reported in the press from Spalato, Sebenico, and other centres where feelings of hostility toward Italy have long run high. Protests from Rome were, however, replied to from Belgrade in a manner accepted as satisfactory.

GREECE—After a brief but exciting campaign, the general election demanded by M. Venizelos on his return to political life early in July took place on

Aug. 19. The contest was fundamentally between the Republicans, whose former leaders had been thrust aside by the country's "strong man," and the Royalists, and the future of the republican form of government was supposed to depend upon the outcome, even though there was ground for doubt whether any overt step in the direction of a re-establishment of a monarchy would be taken even if the Royalists proved victorious. The campaign was marked by plenty of unusual and, in some instances, amusing, episodes, e. g., the kidnapping of candidates, exchange of revolver shots by rival bands of enthusiasts, and a proposal (not carried out) that in order to prevent repeating the hands of voters be colored with a dye guaranteed to last three days after their visit to the polls. Election day, however, passed without untoward incident.

The outcome was an unexpectedly overwhelming victory for the Venizelist party. About 90 per cent. of the total popular vote was cast for Republican candidates, and the distribution of seats as announced on Aug. 21 was: Republican, 228; Royalist, 15;

neutral or independent, 7. Of the Premier's strongest opponents, only two—Kafandaridis and Tsaldaris—were successful. General Pangalos, recently released from prison, was badly beaten in his constituency in Athens, as were General Netaxas on the Island of Cephalonia and the extreme monarchist strain in Patras. Although the arbitrary methods which the restored Premier employed in bringing about the dissolution and election and in revising the electoral system provoked criticism even among Republicans, full vindication was found in the victory, and the continuance of Venizelist rule seemed assured.

ALBANIA—On Sept. 1 the long-impending establishment of monarchy duly took place, when President Ahmet Zogu was formally proclaimed King by the National Assembly. The President's desire to assume a royal title had long been an open secret, and the way was prepared by a careful manipulation of public opinion, with practically no opposition from the interested Governments of Central and Western Europe.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Whaling Industry Flourishing in Norway

By MILTON OFFUTT

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IN spite of a popular belief that whaling as an occupation had become little more than a romantic memory, figures recently published by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed that the industry was flourishing and that the product of the annual catch had risen steadily from 147,000 barrels of oil in 1918 to 745,212 barrels during the last season. The capital invested in the whaling companies of Norway totaled 80,000,000 kroner (about \$20,000,000) and the value of the catch for each of the years from 1923 to 1927 averaged 70,000,000 kroner (about \$17,500,000). To be able to appreciate this fully, one must remember that on Jan. 1, 1928, the population of Norway numbered less than 3,000,000.

In the nineteenth century Norwegians revived the whaling industry, which had begun to decline after two centuries of profitable exploitation by the Dutch, English and Americans; and by the early years of the twentieth century they had made whaling essentially a Norwegian enterprise, pursued in the farthest parts of the world, with its products an important item in international trade and of the greatest significance as a factor in Norway's economic prosperity.

Norway's predominance in the whaling industry was due to Norwegian initiative and adaptability. In the great days of Dutch, English and American whaling, the species hunted were the Greenland, Northkapper and sperm whales, all clumsy and relatively

slow. Whaling vessels were sailing craft of moderate size, and from them small rowing boats were sent out to attack the whales with hand-thrown harpoons. Because of their thick layer of blubber, the whales of the three species mentioned usually floated after being killed. The carcass was flensed or stripped as it lay alongside the ship, and the blubber was either rendered to oil on board or taken home for treatment.

These whales gradually became more and more scarce, and as they decreased in numbers a corresponding decrease occurred among the whaling fleets. Vast numbers of whales remained, especially of the finner species. But this whale is slim and sprightly, and a fast swimmer. Moreover, owing to the comparative meagerness of its blubber, it usually sinks after being killed. The old methods and weapons were not suitable for hunting the finner successfully.

About 1864, Sven Foyn, a Norwegian whaler, changed entirely his method of hunting. In place of the hand-thrown harpoon and bomb-lance he used a harpoon gun, and for the sailing vessel with her rowing boats he substituted small, handy steamships. To render the carcasses he made use of stations on shore. Others, chiefly Norwegians, adopted his tactics as soon as they proved successful. Stations were established throughout the northern seas, until, by 1908, they existed in Norway, Iceland, the Faroes, the Shetlands, the Hebrides, Spitsbergen and the west coast of Ireland. After a good catch in 1909 the hauls from the northern waters diminished, chiefly because interest in the further expansion of the whaling industry had already shifted to the immense expanse of ocean around the ice regions of the South Pole.

As early as 1893 a Norwegian expedition had attempted to hunt whales and seals in the Ross Sea. The attempt failed, but those who took part in the venture were impressed with the great number of finner whales which they encountered. No steps were immediately taken to hunt these, partly because the northern whaling grounds were still capable of development, but chiefly because no method of dealing with the carcasses without a shore station had been devised. This was accomplished in 1903 and 1904, when Chris. Christensen of Sandefjord, in conjunction with the Framnaes

Engineering Works, succeeded in fitting a serviceable oil factory in a ship, a step which proved decisive in the further development of the whaling industry. Within ten years there existed sixty Norwegian whaling companies with one hundred and sixty-one ships, thirty-four shore stations and thirty-nine floating factories in the southern oceans.

The use of the new southern grounds led to increased observation of the migration and occurrence of whales. Gradually it was established that the species inhabiting the arctic waters never migrate to the southern grounds, and, conversely, that antarctic whales never go beyond the equator to the north. Further study revealed the fact that whales inhabit polar waters in great numbers only during the six Summer months, when there is an abundant supply of plankton, a marine growth, which constitutes their chief food. As Winter approaches and the upper layers of water grow colder, this plankton dies, and most of the whales then leave for more temperate waters, where they usually mate and where most of the calves are born. With Spring, the plankton again grows in polar waters, and the whales return.

The first factory ships were comparatively small steam vessels of three or four thousand tons, and their work was confined merely to extracting oil from blubber. They rapidly increased in size and capacity until they were able to handle usefully all parts of the carcass. In 1928 factory ships as large as fourteen and seventeen thousand tons were in service.

With the Great War, most of the whaling companies suspended operations. After the war, however, the work in the south seas was resumed on a larger scale, with an even stronger tendency to make the expeditions completely independent of shore stations. This was carried to the point where so-called "pelagic" expeditions carried out all their operations, including the utilization of the parts of the whale formerly wasted, far out at sea. For this purpose ships were put into service into which the carcasses of whales could be hauled bodily and dealt with when the occasion served.

Since 1918 Norwegian whalers have handled from 47 to 65 per cent. of all the whale products put on the world's market.

In addition to the 80,000,000 kroner invested directly in the industry many more millions were employed in associated industries, such as the building of whaling steamers and the manufacture of whaling gear. Of the 271 whale chasers operating in various parts of the world in 1928, 213 were built by Norwegian firms. In addition, most of the foreign-owned whaling undertaking, employed Norwegian crews and factory hands, masters and managers.

SWEDEN—M. Eliel Löfgren, Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared on Aug. 4 in an interview with an American newspaper man that Sweden's only desire was to live at peace with all her neighbors. He intimated that Sweden was not interested in the scheme for a Baltic Union, which has been more than once proposed, although she was sympathetic to the aspirations toward freedom of the new Baltic States. M. Löfgren said:

We are truly neutral. We are for peace treaties which tend to outlaw war, but there is no inducement for us to enter any alliance outside the League of Nations. Why should we? We sympathize with the new Baltic States, but should any State commit an act of aggression against the new States that is a matter for the League of Nations, and we, of course, will carry out our obligations to the League loyally.

As regards Russia, our national policy is opposed to provoking any rupture. . . . We know, of course, that Russia has contributed to the miners' strike. It is estimated that Russia sent the striking iron miners from about 600,000 to 700,000 kroner (about \$150,000 to \$175,000). The strike itself, however, was not of communist origin, but purely industrial, as was the paper pulp strike which was recently settled.

The mining strike referred to, after enduring for thirty weeks, ended on Aug. 9, with a compromise; certain local wages were adjusted, and the workers received longer vacations. The loss occasioned by the strike was estimated at 10,000,000 kroner for the State, 15,000,000 kroner for the railroad companies, and at 18,000,000 kroner for the salaried workers.

Espionage to ascertain Sweden's relations with England in case of a Russo-British conflict was charged by the Stockholm police against a Russian ex-lawyer, Konstantin Mitkevitz, who was ordered expelled from Sweden. The head of Soviet Russia's news agency in Stockholm, Grigory Alexandrov, who was apprehended simultaneously, was

later released. A Russian naval squadron was reported immediately outside the three-mile limit in the Bay of Hangoe, on Sweden's southeastern coast, where its principal naval base, Karlskrona, is located. The Swedish manoeuvres, which involved units of the navy and army as well as parts of the country's merchant marine, were held under the personal direction of King Gustaf, and the presence of Russian men-of-war at the time and place of the Swedish war games caused lively comment in Sweden.

Old bonds across the Baltic were strengthened by the official visit to Sweden of the President of Estonia, Joan Toennison. The head of the now ten-year-old republic, called "The Masaryk of Estonia," was received in Stockholm by King Gustaf amid old-fashioned pomp and splendor.

FINLAND—King Christian V of Denmark and King Haakon VII of Norway each paid official visits to President Lauri Kristian Relander of the Republic of Finland at Helsingfors during August.

The Bank of Finland discount rate on Aug. 8 was restored to 6½ per cent., the level at which it stood between Aug. 10 and Nov. 23, 1927.

LITHUANIA—The projected plenary Lithuanian-Polish conference for devising a means of restoring normal relations between the two countries, which had been expected to meet at Königsberg on Aug. 15, was postponed following a Polish proposal that its place of meeting be shifted to Geneva. The Lithuanian Government objected to the change on the ground that in the Swiss capital the serious purpose of the conference would be dwarfed by the sessions of the League of Nations. The Polish Government replied on Aug. 18, urging again that the conference be held at Geneva, but offering to negotiate at Königsberg or elsewhere if Lithuania insisted.

The great celebration at Vilna on Aug. 12 of the fourteenth anniversary of the first battle in which Polish troops took part during the Great War, passed off quietly in spite of many forebodings and prophecies of inflammatory incidents. Only about 8,000 of the Polish Legionnaires attended, instead of the expected 40,000. Marshal Pilsudski's oration, anticipated as a fiery declaration

of Poland's policy toward Lithuania, and even by some as a war cry, was confined to pleasant reminiscences of his early life in Vilna and of his affection for the city which made him determined to obtain possession of it.

LATVIA—An attempt to bring about a general strike in Riga on Aug. 22, engineered by communists as a protest against the recent closing of the offices of the extremist trade unions because of plots against the Latvian Constitution and Government, was a failure. Determined action by the police and a heavy downpour of

rain prevented serious disturbances. In the morning the extremists endeavored to persuade workmen to leave their tools and march to the centre of the city. It was estimated that they got between 2,000 and 3,000 men to join the movement. These attempted by force to stop the public services, especially the street railways, but the delay of a few cars was their only success. Although several conflicts occurred in the centres of Riga, and although several hundred persons were arrested by the police, it was reported that shooting took place upon only one occasion, without serious injury to any one.

THE SOVIET UNION

Russia's Political Isolation a Contrast to Her Internal Progress

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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THE delegates to the Congress of the Third International, which has been in continuous session during the past month at Moscow, have found many indications of the material progress and political stability of the Soviet Union. Of course, these favorable auspices owe something to official censorship and manipulation of the reports on Russia's internal conditions. Nevertheless, there is reliable evidence that the economic and political affairs of the country are in a promising state. The uneasiness and disorder aroused earlier in the year by the grain situation have completely subsided following the abandonment of the Government's coercive policy and successive forecasts of harvests far above the average. Industrial activity as measured by any of the standard indexes—gross output of factories, per capita production, car loadings, bank clearances—have reached record figures. Soviet authorities are able to point to many indications that their policy of rapid industrialization of the country is progressing satisfactorily. The gigantic Dnieper River power development under the direction of Colonel Hugh L. Cooper, an

American, is well under way, and plans have been announced for a new electric plant of similar proportions in the vicinity of Moscow. Continuous technical improvement in the mining, oil and metal industries is registered in declining cost-of-production figures. It is true that beneath these evidences of prosperity lies an agrarian problem still unsolved and concealed only by the Government's recent abandonment of Communist policy with respect to the peasants; but in the comparative quiet which now prevails within the country, economic and social conditions are presented in a light very reassuring to the friends of the Soviet experiment.

This posture of domestic affairs is in sharp contrast with the uncertainty and instability which still characterize the foreign relations of Russia. The conclusion of the Kellogg treaty for the renunciation of war seemed at first, before the invitation to Russia to participate and her adherence, to emphasize anew the anomaly of Russia's present position in relation to the movement of world peace. It was clear to Russia and to the world at large that the Soviet Union,

endowed as it is with the largest land empire in the world, with a vast and increasing population, and with a potential economic power of incalculable magnitude securely based on a wealth of resources within her own borders, must of necessity play a major rôle in the future relationships of States. No formal agreement among other nations could hope to nullify so great a power. This power, inherent in the material and human endowment of the Soviet Union, is increased by her strategic geographic position. On three sides she borders on the focal points of international friction. Her European frontier no longer brings her face to face with nations of the first magnitude, but with the series of little States constructed from fragments of old empires whose jealousies, disputes and alliances are a constant source of uneasiness to the greater Powers. To the South, her alliances with Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and her cluster of autonomous republics on the borders of Northern India give her access to the trade routes between Europe and the Far East and a channel through which to communicate her ideas and policies to the restive subject peoples of France and England. To the East her hegemony in Asia makes her a major factor in the problem of the Pacific.

During the past month the official press of Russia had repeatedly asserted the weakness of the Kellogg treaty as a guarantor of peace by reason of its presumed exclusion of the Soviet Union. A case in point is the Polish-Lithuanian dispute over Vilna. The League of Nations—which means primarily the European Powers who are signatories of the Kellogg treaty—regards this city as belonging to Poland. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has recognized in a treaty that Vilna belongs to Lithuania, and recently an inspired editorial in *Izvestiya* definitely committed Russia to the support of the Kovno Government as against the League of Nations, the Locarno Powers and the European States who are now declaring for the outlawry of war. With Russia excluded, the Kellogg treaty would have been no safeguard against war arising from this dispute and embroiling other nations than the two small Powers immediately concerned, for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy was to hold

good only among States which were parties to the treaty. Similarly the reservation by England and France of spheres of policy lying beyond the scope of the treaty—briefly, the protection and pacification of Colonial empire—would have left abundant opportunity for dispute with Russia on the ground of her subversive activities in India and Asia Minor and Egypt had the Soviet Union remained outside the compact. All these fears and preoccupations disappeared with the invitation to Russia to participate in the treaty and her adherence, as described fully elsewhere in these pages.

Recent events have done little, however, to improve Russia's relations with other States individually. There is no apparent tendency on the part of the Conservative Government of England to resume diplomatic relations, and the London press, representing conservative opinion, continues its bitter attacks upon the Soviet régime. Ramsay MacDonald has made it clear in a recent statement, however, that this policy will not survive a victory of the Labor Party in the approaching general election, since it is that party's determination to re-establish relations with Russia immediately upon coming into power. The feeling between Russia and France has not been improved by Russia's aggressive support of Lithuania as opposed to Poland, the ally of France. Old causes of friction with Rumania have been aggravated by that nation's proposal to sell at auction some 200 ships of Russian registry confiscated in Rumanian harbors after the war. The Soviet Government considers these ships Russian public property and threatens reprisals, referring for the first time officially to the Rumanian gold, amounting to some \$60,000,000, the jewels of Queen Marie and other objects of value seized by the Bolsheviks in Moscow in 1917 and never relinquished. Heretofore the assumption has prevailed that this property of Rumania was being held as an offset to Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia and would be made a part of the give and take of any negotiations between the two countries looking toward mutual diplomatic recognition. Rumania's recent action has still further postponed such negotiations and complicated the account standing between the two Governments.

In the Far East the collapse of Russia's de-

signs in connection with the Chinese Nationalist movement is attributed to the enmity of other nations, especially Japan. Relations with Japan have been further embittered by that country's policy in Northern Manchuria, which Japan has prevented by strong threats from joining a unified Chinese State. Russia's special interest in Manchuria centres in the Chinese Eastern Railroad, built by Russian capital before the war; but behind this lies her desire to share in the economic exploitation of this potentially rich country and to consolidate her position as the major Asiatic Power. In Moscow Japan's policy is viewed as the first step in the creation of a buffer State between herself and Russia and the extinction of Russia's vested rights in the province. The Bolsheviks recall with uneasiness the heated diplomatic struggle with Japan in 1926, when the Russian manager of the Chinese Eastern Railroad was arrested at the instigation of Japan; and, though *Pravda* denies that there is any intention to dispatch Russian troops into Manchuria, the Soviet authorities hold gloomy views on the question of continued peace with Japan in view of that country's recent action. To add to their pessimism with regard to the foreign relations of their country, the Bolsheviks profess to find in the recent negotiations between the United States and the Nanking Government evidences of animosity on our part toward Russia. For some months the Russian press has been showing unusual moderation and restraint in its comment on American affairs, disclosing, however, misguidedly, a growing hope of eventual recognition by this country. But recently this spirit of good-will and great expectations was abruptly shattered by *Pravda's* bitter denunciation of our imperialistic designs in China and our far-reaching incitement of the world's enmity toward Russia.

Perhaps as an offset to her unhappy official relations with foreign Governments, Russia has taken steps to enlarge her ac-

quaintance with private citizens of other countries and to encourage friendly feelings among a wider range of individuals. On Aug. 5 Professor Michael J. Kaufman of the Legal Department of the Soviet Commissariat for Trade addressed an appeal to the American public to investigate the conditions in Russia through a delegate commission of experts, which is promised every facility for impartial study. The Russian Government during the month has also announced its abandonment of the policy of discouraging tourist visitors, which has prevailed since the revolution. From now on every means will be employed to encourage tourists, especially from the United States. Visas good for one month's residence will be freely granted; first-class travel, hotel and entertainment facilities will be provided; companies will be set up in this and other countries to arouse tourist interest. This year over 1,000 American visitors have entered Russia, according to an official statement; next year it is hoped that this number will rise to 5,000. The cordial reception of Professor Dewey's party in July and the apparent frankness with which the Soviet authorities answered their questions and facilitated their investigation of the institutional life of the country are indicative of the present Bolshevik desire to win the friendship of foreign nationals. There may be a commercial motive in this policy of fostering tourist interest; travelers' expenditure in Russia will help to balance the foreign trade account. But larger returns may be expected in the form of tolerance and good-will. It is noteworthy, at least, that every considerable party of foreign observers visiting Russia in recent years—the latest example is that of Senator Thomas, who declared within the month for recognition of Russia after personal investigation of its conditions—has returned with increased respect for the country and its leaders and more disposed toward their official recognition by the Governments of their own countries.



Turkey Taking the Lead in the Near East

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THE state of Turkey as regards internal quiet and external peace is superior at present to what she has enjoyed during many past decades, and is also more favorable to reconstruction and genuine progress than that of several neighboring territories.

Turkey has had for four years a new Constitution, which has been modified only slightly and by regular methods since its initiation. Egypt has had a new Constitution for a similar length of time, but it was virtually suspended for some eighteen months and has recently been suspended again for three years. The Lebanon has a Constitution which was perhaps more suggested by Frenchmen than formulated by native political men, and which is strongly criticized by those subject to it. Syria is in the process only now of constructing a Constitution, and at the present moment a deadlock exists between the desires of the representatives of the Syrian people and those of a foreign Government, which claims to have behind it the will of a League representing most of the nations of the world, in restraining the Syrians from the exercise of complete self-rule. Palestine has not yet received Parliamentary Government, though possessing without it an orderly condition. Persia has an older Constitution than that of Turkey and is like that country in having a higher degree of internal order and external peace than for many years past; but Persian policy is not nearly as far along on the path of modernization as is that of Turkey. Arabia and Afghanistan are under the control of shrewd and forward-looking rulers, but are, alike in spirit and achievement, far less modernized than Persia. In one or more ways all these countries look to Turkey for leadership in the direction of completing their independence, adapting their customs conservatively to more and more conformity with the Western world, improving the educational and economic status of their peoples and in general breaking those bonds with the past

which retard and fetter, while not destroying the good features which come down from an old and honorable racial and religious ancestry.

Mme. Halideh Edib upheld nobly the honor of Turkey at Williamstown during the month of August. As the first woman and the first Turk to lecture before the Institute of Politics, she sustained with quiet forcefulness the right of her country and her sex to dignified attention and friendly consultation as regards the affairs which concern them equally with the remainder of humanity. Mme. Edib has hardly reached middle life, but she has already played a great rôle in her country by pen, speech and action, in encouraging the education of women and their emancipation from inequalities of status, in maintaining the rights of her people to fair treatment without prejudice on account of race and religion, and in active assistance in time of defeat against apparent attempts on the part of nations, great and small, to destroy the national existence of the Turks. She assisted personally in the organization of the present Government and took part in the military campaigns which confirmed its right to live, and though differing from that policy of the present governing group, which in the supposed interest of rapid progress, suppresses party discussion, she, nevertheless, is in close agreement with them in all essential measures for a thorough modernization, combined with the preservation of whatever is worthy and valuable in the older life of the people.

The events of the last twenty years have converted the position of the Ottoman Turks from one of a losing struggle to maintain a reduced and shattered empire with interests in three continents into one of advancing an impoverished and wearied people, who inhabit a large but comparatively undeveloped territory but who are now freed almost completely from the burdens of empire, along the path which leads to physical, economic and political health. For

centuries the Turks had managed their empire with something like a division of labor, in which they left the industrial, commercial and financial side of affairs to non-Turkish groups, reserving for themselves the governmental and military side—the great bulk of the Turkish population, however, living in agricultural communities of conservative ideas and primitive methods. These communities were obliged, however, to furnish almost continuously nearly all the fighting men of the empire. At cruelly frequent intervals a serious war cut deep into the male population. No wonder that the rest of the world and the Turks themselves were surprised to find how many people have survived within their present territory. Only a people of great physical vigor and unlimited tenacity of the will to live could have escaped destruction under such conditions.

They have now had a scant five years of actual peace, and it is all too soon to pass any sort of judgment upon their achievements and their prospects. All that can fairly be done is to observe the direction in which they are headed and take note of the steps which they have so far taken in that direction. Any fear which may be expressed as regards the process is to be based not upon its slowness, but its speed.

In many previous issues of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* mention has been made of action by the Turkish Government in the direction of modernization, and repetition is unnecessary. The direction is evident beyond any question. Turkey is moving without hesitation toward secularization of institutions, nationalization of government, literature and business, and economic improvement with the ultimate hope of reasonable self-sufficiency.

An Englishman (Mr. F. H. C. Armstrong) recently spoke of Turkey as follows: "Its rulers efficiently and with high resolve are fighting against immense difficulties to revive and to reorganize a tired, battered people and an impoverished country; a land potentially rich, but hardly touched through lack of men and capital." He proceeds, however, in comparing present-day Russia and Turkey, to say that he finds in Russia, "for good or bad, a new spirit, a faith, a hope, a vital drive," of which he finds nothing similar in Turkey;

"in fact, the rulers of Turkey are fighting against great odds, and they are still forced to destroy more than they can create." With this last point of view the writer takes issue, and merely points to facts that have been presented. Certain other items may here be added.

The President, Mustapha Kemal, made a speech on Aug. 9 at Seraglio Point, Constantinople, on the subject of the new alphabet, in which he said:

Friends, we are introducing a new alphabet so as to be able to express ourselves better in our beautiful tongue. We are obliged to rescue our tongue from characters which starved our thoughts. We shall understand our language much better with the new alphabet. * * * The present epoch calls for deeds, not words: we do not need the latter any longer. Dearest citizens, learn quickly the new Turkish characters. Teach them to workmen, to the peasants, to everybody. It is scandalous that 80 per cent. of our countrymen are unable to read or write, and it makes one blush. But Turks were not created to feel ashamed; on the contrary, the heart of a Turk reflects countless pages of victory and glory.

On the same occasion the President recommended that the Turks either abandon their rather primitive and plaintive Oriental music accompanying traditional dances, or at least add the gayer and more active music and dances of what he calls "the vitalized Western world." He also justified his own moderate use of alcohol, apparently counting that also a practice which the Turkish people might well adopt from the West. To this point of view, of course, many friends of Turkey will take serious exception.

The full text of the commission of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Constantinople, recommending modernization in religious practice, has come to hand. The first paragraphs point out two aspects of the present democratic evolution of Turkey, that it is both scientific and national. Religion also must be modified in this time of great change. It is not desired "to go outside the rational limits of our religion," but it is desirable to eliminate "primitive forms and superannuated usages."

EGYPT—The Egyptian situation remained remarkably quiet during the month of August. The High Commissioner, Lord Lloyd, found no difficulty in leaving for England at the end of July. The day

of his departure marked one month after the suspension by the new Cabinet of constitutional government. The Deputies and Senators of the suspended Parliament had previously announced their intention of meeting on that day, in order to defend the Constitution, according to which suspension is not permitted for more than thirty days.

The Government, which has maintained throughout complete control of the Egyptian Army and the police, and therefore of the internal situation in general, forbade the proposed meeting. On July 28 a very large police force guarded all approaches to the Parliament buildings. No Senator or Deputy appeared during the entire day, and friends of the Government congratulated themselves on successful suppression.

It was announced on the following day that members of both Houses, to the number of about two hundred, had actually met at 6 P. M. in the house of a Deputy, which is located very near Police Headquarters. The Houses sat separately and passed resolutions to the effect "that Parliament had duly met and had a right to meet; that the Mahmoud Cabinet was unconstitutional and unworthy of confidence, and that all its decisions be regarded by the country as null and void, as also any agreements, political, commercial or financial, come to with foreign Powers." The Houses then voted adjournment until the third Saturday of November. The members took oath that they would employ every effort to preserve and defend the Constitution to their utmost power as long as they may live.

Nahas Pasha, recently Prime Minister and still head of the Nationalist Party, has been making speeches in various parts of Egypt. He and other leaders of the party claim that popular feeling is strongly against the Cabinet, and that it cannot long retain office in defiance of the Constitution. The Government claims that the people desire only peace and order and better government than they had been receiving under Nahas Pasha. The Government has approved the budget prepared by the dismissed Parliament, except for the cutting out of certain items on the plea of economy. It has shown a disposition to control the press more closely and has ordered the disbanding of all student associations of a political nature.

It was announced on Aug. 16 that negotiations had been initiated with Egypt by the American Department of State looking toward an arbitration treaty and a conciliation treaty similar to the negotiations which are in progress between the United States and twenty-one other countries for arbitration treaties and thirteen countries for conciliation treaties. The plan met with various comment from British and Egyptian sources. From the British point of view it was suggested that England might desire a clause which would except from arbitration any questions relating to the Suez Canal and neighboring regions. As a consequence of this British position, much Egyptian opinion doubted the value of the treaty for Egypt. It was claimed that to admit such a limitation would acknowledge formally that Egypt was not completely independent.

SYRIA—On Aug. 12 the French High Commissioner, M. Ponsot, dismissed the Constituent Assembly for three months. He had previously requested the Assembly to modify certain articles which they had approved in order to preserve the position of France before the League of Nations in connection with the Syrian mandate. The Assembly rejected the High Commissioner's proposal by a vote of 44 to 6.

The articles which were particularly objectionable to the French were one which would give the President power to declare martial law and one which would enable him to appoint Ministers or Ambassadors abroad. The Assembly accepted this dismissal, perhaps looking upon it partly as an opportunity for vacation. It remains to be seen whether a middle ground can be found between the French desire, which, moreover, is supported by the legal situation through the mandate, and the Syrian desire for complete independence, in accordance with the declarations made by the majority before the American Commission on Mandates in 1919, accompanied by the claim that Syria had never consented to the mandatory régime.

TRANSJORDAN—A meeting of notables was held at Amman on Aug. 1 to protest against the treaty with England. They passed eight resolutions, which they endeavored to submit through a delegation to

Emir Abdullah, but without success. They expressed the opinions that the Transjordan Government should be responsible to a freely-elected Parliament; the mandate should involve only the acceptance of technical advice; the Balfour declaration is contrary to British promises to the Arabs, as well as to international rights; military service should be imposed only by a freely elected Parliament, and the country should bear no share of the expense of foreign troops; Britain has no right to supervise the finances of the country, in which its interest is only selfish, for the purpose of maintaining air communications.

ARABIA—The second conference at Jeddah (the first took place in May) between King Ibn Saud and Sir Gilbert Clayton broke up on Aug. 9 without reaching agreement. Inasmuch as the most serious questions concerned Iraq, a delegation from that country under Taufiq Bey Suwaidi, Minister of Education, assisted in the discussions. All parties agreed on a treaty of good-will and friendship. Iraq was prepared to recognize the King's sovereignty over the Hejaz, to agree to the extradition of political offenders and to abandon claims for compensation on account of the raids from the King's territory into Iraq early in the year. It asked, however, for the right to continue to build police posts on its side of the frontier, partly to maintain order between the frontier tribes and partly to prevent raids on its territory.

The conference broke up on account of the last item. King Ibn Saud insisted not only that no new police post should be established, but that the three already in existence should be abandoned. The *status quo* was to be maintained pending the resumption of negotiations after Sir Gilbert Clayton had conferred further with his home Government.

Opinion at Bagdad was strongly against the dismantling of the post at Busaiyah, which is about seventy miles within their frontier, and those at Salmon and Sebecha, which are about thirty miles within the frontier. It was felt that a personal element entered into the King's attitude, involving hostility toward the two sons of his former enemy, ex-King Hussein—namely, King Feisal of Iraq, and Emir Abdullah of

Transjordan. Both sides were affirmed to be sustaining propaganda and organized groups within the territory of each other; for example, the Hejazi Revolutionary Party in Iraq. The Wahabis were said to be making numerous converts among the Iraqis.

Reports followed promptly that Sheik Feisal ed-Dowish, who led raids from Nejd into Iraq last Spring, had again taken the war path, and had massacred certain families belonging to the Atieh tribe. The Iraqi border guard, including British airplanes and armored cars, increased their patrolling activities, based upon the three posts above named. King Ibn Saud announced to his agency in Cairo that his Government would continue to treat neighboring nations in a friendly manner in accordance with existing treaties.

A meeting was held at Mecca on May 26, by invitation of Ibn Saud, of delegations from the Moslems of India, Malaysia, South Africa, Yemen, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. They inspected and approved the Kizwa, or Holy Carpet, which, departing from the usual custom, had been made not in Egypt but in India. The delegates discussed and approved the policies of the King as regards the Holy Cities and Moslem affairs generally.

On July 26 representatives of Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Hejaz met at Haifa to consider the affairs of the Hejaz Railway. This line, built under the influence of Sultan Abdul Hamid II for combined religious and political motives, was cut into four parts at the close of the Great War. The locomotives and cars have remained badly distributed. It was said that Syria had ninety locomotives on 160 miles of railway, Palestine and Transjordan twenty-six on 375 miles and the Hejaz only four on a yet longer stretch. This conference also broke up without reaching agreement, mainly because King Ibn Saud insisted upon a claim that the entire Hejaz Railway was a Moslem enterprise and should be operated as a unit for the benefit of the Moslems of the world.

IRAQ—The Minister of Defense, Nuri Pasha Said, spoke in the Chamber of Deputies early in August in favor of conscription. He stated that voluntary enlistment could not provide a sufficient force.

Furthermore, it was very expensive. Not long afterward the Iraq Government declared its opposition to the British claim, which was agreed to by the previous Government, that Iraq should pay a portion of the cost of maintaining the British troops within the country. The amount paid has hitherto not amounted to more than \$100,000 per year, but this small amount is regarded as involving possibilities of much greater requirements.

Alarm has arisen based upon the assertion that many inhabitants of Southern Iraq are adopting Persian nationality. The Minister of the Interior instituted inquiries, with the promise of taking action if it should be seen desirable.

PERSIA—A report came from Geneva that the Shah had taken a strong position against the drastic restriction upon the production and trade of opium which has been proposed by a commission of the League of Nations. This was connected with a proposal from a Dutch corporation to purchase for a good price during a long time all the opium that Persia could produce.

Mr. Poland was replaced as Director General of Railways by Mr. Carrol. Dr. Walder of Switzerland took over the position of Treasurer General from Major Davis. Dr. Lindenblatt of Germany reached Persia in June and began work looking toward the establishment of the National Bank. It was proposed to issue \$2,000,000 worth of stock at first, the Government to retain the remaining nine-tenths of the authorized shares, realizing the required sum by the sale of crown jewels and crown lands. The bank was authorized to accept deposits and to lend money for the assistance of trade, industry and agriculture.

AFGHANISTAN—The recent travels in Europe of the King and Queen of Afghanistan are already showing their effects. In an interview Queen Surayya was reported to have laid down a moderate basis for the emancipation of women in her country. She declared, in the first place, that

the original doctrine of Islam as regards the position of women was very different from that which came later to prevail. "Islam gave woman freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of action; * * * put her in an equal position with man; * * * made the status of women equal to that of the opposite sex, even in political affairs and Government work." The Queen affirmed that women, while they were required to keep concealed their whole body except their face, the palms of the hand and the feet, were not expected to be veiled. Seclusion of women was introduced into Islam during the time of the Abbassid Caliphs under Persian influence. The Queen said further that the women of the East must abandon the practice of seclusion, known as *purdah*, in favor of the older Islamic practice, otherwise "there is no possibility of any progress in the life of the Eastern peoples, particularly the Moslems." She expressed her belief, however, that an attempt on the part of Eastern women to adopt the customs of Western women would certainly result in failure. She has written a small book on *Islam and Women*, which she has ordered to be translated from the original Persian into French.

The King was reported to have forbidden Government officials to take more than one wife. He had advised officials and subjects to copy the good but not the bad customs of other countries. Contrary to the advice of President Mustapha Kemal, he advised against the use of alcohol, but recommended sports strongly. At a Jirga, or triennial Assembly of notables held late in August, he required the representatives to shave their beards, to sit on benches and to use cups, saucers and spoons. Frock coats and felt hats were issued to the notables for use during the time of the assembly. The King, wearing a morning coat and a tall hat, instead of permitting the delegates to kiss his hand, shook hands with them in Western fashion. The assembly was to be modified in the democratic direction by the admission of popular representatives. It was proposed to initiate a primary and second school system within the next two years.

Dangerous Issues Between China and Japan

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INDICATIONS have been numerous that success for the Chinese nationalist "revolution" would bring Japan and China to a crossroads and compel the two great Far Eastern States to choose between a policy of peace through compromise and one of war by reason of strict adherence to rights or necessities or both. The present situation bears out the reliability of the indications. But for China's self-admitted weakness Japan would either have been compelled to adopt a less "positive" policy within the past few months or accept the alternative of war with China. Because of that weakness the new Chinese Government has contented itself with peremptory notes and such private expressions of resentment as boycotting Japanese goods and comments in the press. On her side Japan also has avoided the overt act that might excite hostilities or focus the attention of the world upon her as an aggressor and violator of treaties. The view of bystanders has been general that the recently signed Chinese-American treaty has been at least a temporary check upon Premier Tanaka's "positivism." But the stakes for which Japan is playing are so high, amounting to nothing less than her status as a great Power, that it is now clear that she will not hesitate to fight, if she must, to win.

On two occasions during the past month Japan has presented Chinese Governments with an ultimatum. One of these concerned Manchuria, the other the Sino-Japanese treaty of commerce and navigation; one was addressed to the "Young General," Chang Hsueh-liang, successor of his father, Chang Tso-lin, as super-Governor of Manchuria; the other ultimatum went to the Nationalist Government at Nanking. Japan sent Baron Gonsuke Hayashi, one of her premier diplomats, as special envoy to Mukden to inform the Government there that she was opposed to the union of Manchuria with the rest of China and that if the negotiations for union

were continued she would take such action as she felt proper to protect her interests. This extreme step was taken after Chang Hsueh-liang had failed to terminate negotiations when "advised" to do so by the Japanese Consul General at Mukden. The newspaper *Asahi* of Tokyo declared that Japanese officials had urged Chang the younger to declare the independence of Manchuria, a move from which he shrank, possibly because of his knowledge of Korean history, giving as his reason that he was too young for such heavy responsibilities as the governing of an independent Manchuria. Korean independence, established by the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1895, was followed fifteen years later by the annexation of Korea by Japan. Apparently, however, Chang suspended negotiations with Nanking.

Why is it that Japan has felt it necessary to prevent Manchuria's adoption of the blue flag with the white sun devised for the Nationalists by their dead leader, Sun Yat-sen? The answer is found in her second ultimatum, delivered in her note of July 31 to the Nanking Government. Since this note sums up both the Chinese argument for treaty abrogation and the Japanese view thereon it is reprinted here. The italics are mine:

The Japanese Minister has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government under date of July 19, 1928, informing him that the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1896 between Japan and China, the notes annexed thereto and the protocol annexed to the above treaty, as well as the supplementary treaty of 1903 and its annexes, have expired on July 20 of this year, and accordingly proposing the conclusion of a new treaty. It is also stated in the said note that the Nationalist Government has declined to act pending the conclusion of the new treaty in accordance with the "provisional regulations for the period after the treaties between the Republic of China and foreign countries have been abrogated, and not replaced by new treaties" promulgated by them.

In reply to the note above mentioned, the Japanese Minister has the honor to state,

under instructions from his Government, as follows:

Article 26 of the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1896 reads: "It is agreed that either of the high contracting parties may demand a revision of the tariffs and of the commercial articles of this treaty at the end of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications; but if no such demand be made on either side and no such revision be effected within six months after the end of the first ten years, then the treaty and tariffs, in their present form, shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years, and so it shall be at the end of each successive period of ten years."

There is no stipulation providing for the abrogation or expiration of the treaty. It is natural, therefore, that the treaty can neither be abrogated nor terminated without special mutual consent or agreement between both contracting parties. Further, as it is expressly stipulated in the provisions of the same article that if the negotiations for the revision were not completed within six months, then the treaty and tariffs should remain in force ten years more, it admits of no doubt that the treaty and tariffs should remain in force for another ten years. The Japanese Government, having consistently held the above view, made it clearly known to the Wai Chiao Pu of the Peking Government in the memorandum of the Japanese Government in reply to that Ministry's proposal for the revision of the treaty of commerce and navigation, and they have never failed to remind the Chinese authorities thereof on several subsequent occasions when the term for the treaty negotiation was renewed.

The treaties and the accompanying documents being for the above reasons still in force, even after the expiration of the term for treaty negotiation, July 20 last, the Japanese Government deems it impossible to share the view of the Nationalist Government that the expiration of the term for treaty negotiation coincides with the expiration of those treaties.

Moreover, in their note the Nationalist Government say they will rule during the interim period before the conclusion of a new treaty with the so-called "provisional regulations," which have been unilaterally drawn up by them. This will bring into practice the termination of the present treaties still in force. It is on the part of the Nationalist Government not only an infringement of the terms of the treaty, which is inadmissible in the light of both treaty interpretation and international usages, but also an outrageous act, disregarding good faith between the nations, in which the Japanese Government find themselves absolutely unable to acquiesce.

As for the revision of the treaties, however, the Japanese Government, as they have declared on more than one occasion, have been sincerely and are in readiness for entering into negotiations in view of the national aspirations of the Chinese people, and also the close relationship in every respect between the two countries. The above attitude of Japan has been, as the Nationalist Government is well aware, clearly evidenced by the fact that in the informal negotiations for treaty revision held at Peking the Japanese Government

endeavored to facilitate the treaty revision by consenting several times to the extension of the term for treaty negotiation, even after the expiration of the original six months.

In this connection it must be especially pointed out that the revision was unfortunately not effected during the term chiefly because of political unrest in China.

In short, the attitude of the Japanese Government toward the treaty revision has in no way been altered. If the Nationalist Government, therefore, having regard to international fidelity, as well as neighborly friendship between Japan and China, recognize the validity of the existing treaties by withdrawing their declaration to enforce the so-called "provisional regulations," the Japanese Government are ready gladly to agree to the proposal of the Nationalist Government for treaty revision and do not in the least hesitate to effect such revision as may be considered appropriate.

If, however, the Nationalist Government still adhere to their attitude to insist on the expiration of the existing treaties, the Japanese Government cannot see their way to open the negotiation for treaty revision, and, further, if the Nationalist Government should persistently attempt to enforce the so-called "provisional regulations" unilaterally, the Japanese Government declare hereby that they may be obliged to take such measures as they deem suitable for safeguarding their rights and interests assured by the treaties.

Space limitations prevent a full consideration of the legal points presented by this memorandum. It is believed, however, that there can be no question of China's right to terminate the treaty provisions regarding tariffs and commerce. She has that right as a corollary of the right to demand revision, since otherwise the latter would be without effective sanction. As to her



ILLUSTRATION OF A NEWS ITEM
"Thanks to the attitude of Japan, a Chinese-Japanese treaty is nearing completion."

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

right to abrogate the entire treaty, which provides for extraterritorial privileges and so forth, that is a more difficult question. Under international law, treaties may be abrogated "when a state of things which was the basis of the treaty and one of its tacit conditions no longer exists." (J. B. Moore, *Digest of International Law*, V, 319ff.) As the displaced Peking Government had already abrogated the Belgian, Portuguese and Spanish treaties without treaty authorization, the Nanking Government was following precedent. Moreover, it has been the universal practice of States to denounce enforced treaties whenever they have felt themselves able to do so.

Legal acts are not always politically expedient. Since Dr. C. T. Wang, Nationalist Foreign Minister, is a highly astute statesman, one looks beneath the surface for the explanation of his drastic move. Apparently it was motivated in part by the necessity of placating the more radical element of his party. It is true also that the failure of Japanese negotiations for treaty revision hitherto has been partly due to Peking's unwillingness to grant the special tariff rates demanded by Japan. In all probability the treaty-revision issue has been used by both sides and will continue to be used as trading stock in connection with the settlement of the other questions—Manchuria, Shantung, Nanking—which continue to complicate Sino-Japanese relations.

On Japan's side the recognition of China's right to abrogate one treaty would involve not only the loss of an advantageous position in negotiations for a new treaty, with a possible disastrous result for Japan's trade with China, but also the creation of a precedent in case the Chinese should attempt to abrogate the various treaties and other engagements by which Japan maintains her position of special interest in Manchuria. Hitherto, although all sections of Chinese opinion, official and

private, have denounced that position as illegal and immoral, Japan has been able, by local arrangements with a quasi-independent war lord, to maintain it in fact. She fears that such arrangements would be impossible with a united China under Nationalist control. Recognition of her treaty position in Manchuria as legal, however, would, if granted by the Nationalists, afford her a proper basis for drastic action if in the future a Nationalist Government should attempt to terminate her leases or other privileges. Apparently it is that recognition that Japan wants and without it she appears determined to stand adamant against Manchurian cooperation in a Chinese confederation. It appears essential that some compromise be reached which will at once protect the political and economic rights of China and provide for the necessities of Japan along lines of mineral, forest and grain resources.

Dr. Wang's reply to the Japanese treaty memorandum was conciliatory. The gist of his statement was contained in the following paragraph:

The action of the Nationalist Government in declaring all treaties that have expired terminated and to be substituted by new treaties is well founded on principles of international law and well supported by precedents. The provisional ad interim regulations are not discriminatory against Japan, but for the maintenance of political and commercial relations between China and all countries whose treaties have expired. Since the Japanese Government already has expressed readiness to make a new treaty, China is most anxious and sincere in expecting Japan to appoint delegates and commence negotiations.

He did not withdraw from his position as to the abrogation of the treaty. On the other hand the Chinese "interim regulations" were not applied to Japanese subjects, who continued under a *de facto* status identical with that to which they were previously entitled by treaty. Thus China had saved "face," Japan the substance of her rights temporarily.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE FAR EAST

CHINA—J. V. A. MacMurray, American Minister to China, informed Dr. C. T. Wang on July 30 that in the opinion of the United States the conclusion of the treaty of July 25, by which this country

recognized the principle of tariff autonomy as effective in China upon ratification, fulfilled the promise of Secretary Kellogg's note. He corrected what appeared to be a misunderstanding expressed in Dr.

Wang's note of July 29 to the effect that the two Governments were soon to commence negotiations for a new commercial treaty. Subsequently it was learned that Dr. Wang had not anticipated immediate negotiations, but wished to have it understood that Dr. C. C. Wu was to act as China's delegate whenever the United States was prepared to act.

Mr. MacMurray sent a later note to Nanking urging the evacuation of all American property under military or other occupation and the cessation of such action in the future. Citing a number of instances of occupation, he declared that American property was being treated as if it belonged to an enemy country. This note followed the receipt some weeks earlier of a bill for rent due on the American Consulate at Nanking, which has been looted, stripped even of doors and window-frames, and used as a barracks by the troops.

The United States and China named their respective members of the commission to assess damages arising out of the Nanking incident of March, 1927. The commission consists of Clarence Spiker and V. G. Lyman for the United States and C. K. Young (a Chinese) and W. U. Chin for China.

Great Britain entered into a settlement with the Nationalists of its claims in connection with the Nanking incident which resembled very closely the terms of the American settlement. China expressed regret, Great Britain "deplored" the necessity of firing and a joint commission on assessment of damages was agreed upon. The date of the Sino-British agreement was Aug. 9. Press dispatches forecast a credit loan of £6,000,000 in London for the Nationalist Government.

Charges that the old Manchurian dictator, Chang Tso-lin, was assassinated by a gang of Japanese thugs or *soshi* were made by B. L. Simpson (Putnam Weale), one of the best-informed British writers on the Far East. He declared his belief that the assassins were assisted by Japanese military officers.

The fifth plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist, Party was convened at Nanking during the week Aug. 8-15. The conciliatory tactics of General Chiang Kai-

shek were successful in bringing together all important leaders except Governor Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi, who is believed now to be about to relinquish his supervisory control over North China in favor of Feng Yu-hsiang. Yen left Peking, ostensibly to attend the conference at Nanking, but instead, upon the age-worn and well-understood plea of illness, went to his home capital of Taiyuan. The meetings of the committee were disturbed by factional differences, but some effective work was done. A significant incident was the attendance of a hundred Chinese merchants and bankers, the backbone of the country, to influence the committee in favor of financial unification, disbandment of troops, a national budget and tariff autonomy. They pled for release from the burdens of military rule and civil war.

The municipal council of the International Settlement at Shanghai on Aug. 28 ordered the intelligence bureau established there by the Nationalist Government to move out of the Settlement or cease to function. The Nationalist Foreign Minister lodged a strong protest against the order. No reason for the council's action was assigned other than that the bureau had not applied for permission to operate within the Settlement.

JAPAN—The even balance of party strength in the Japanese House of Representatives was upset by the secession of Takejiro Tokonami and an undetermined number of other members of the Minseito, the opposition party. Mr. Tokonami declared that his purpose was to strengthen the Premier in his policies of advancing Japanese interests at home and abroad. It was anticipated that some thirty members would join the new party to be led by Tokonami.

Mr. T. Matsudaira, recently Japanese Ambassador to the United States, was designated Ambassador to Great Britain.

A new labor party of moderate tendencies, the *Musan Taishuto* (Proletarian Popular Party) was inaugurated by a number of the former members of the recently dissolved *Ronoto* (Farmer Labor Party).

Dr. Hara, Minister of Justice, announced that the jury system would come into operation on Oct. 1.

TO AND FROM OUR READERS

[The editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

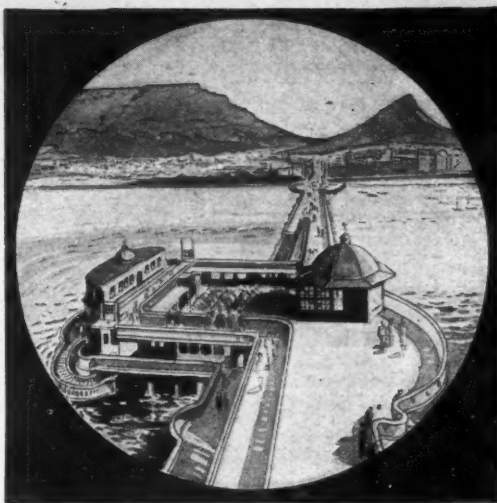
THE EVIDENCE THAT CONVICTED GERMANY

To the Editor of Current History:

In the August number of CURRENT HISTORY I showed that the material used by the Allied Commission appointed for the purpose of fixing the responsibility for the war was "extremely incomplete, full of gaps, tendencies, erroneous and, in part, falsified." Certain of the members who composed that commission have at my suggestion read my essay in a critical spirit and have since addressed to me a number of questions bearing upon my statements. The facts established by me have not been confuted, but an attempt has been made by my critics to diminish their significance by repeating the old and familiar assertions with regard to Germany's war guilt. There is also a tendency to concentrate attention on the falsification contained in the French Yellow Book No. 118.

With a number of the questions addressed to me by Baron Jaequemyns it will hardly be necessary for me to deal, as they will be found to be fully answered in a more extensive article entitled "The Refutation of the Versailles Thesis of Germany's War Guilt" that has in the meantime been issued by the publishing house of Reimar Hobbing in Berlin. In this exhaustive article I have refuted each individual point contained in the *Rapport* and have dealt in detail with the documents which have led my American critics to make their reservations. I must, however, reply to certain other questions put to me by Baron Jaequemyns.

In order to prove that the Allied Commission, despite the fact that the material placed at its disposal was incomplete and in part falsified, did not go astray in coming to its conclusions and in drawing up the *Rapport* in which it embodied them, Baron Jaequemyns quotes word for word a part of the *Rapport*. In this connection he asks me whether there is a single document in the *Rapport* which is definitely incorrect and whether a single new fact has since come to light that can be regarded as calculated to invalidate the conclusions reached by the commission. In reply I should like to state that we now have at our disposal new texts of the following documents which are cited in the footnotes of the passages



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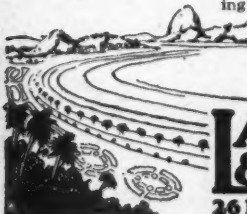
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quoted in the *Rapport: Yellow Book*, 43, 72, 98, 106 and 109, and *Red Book*, 55. Document 15 of the *Yellow Book*, containing a report on the German mobilization, which is alleged to have started as early as July 21, is entirely wrong, as I have already shown in an essay written as far back as 1923. As regards the facts that were unknown to the commission when they drew up their *Rapport*, I should like specially to quote the following four:

1. The Sarajevo outrage took place with the tacit connivance of the members of the Serbian Cabinet.

2. The German Government, directly the Serbian reply became known, brought the strongest possible pressure to bear on Austria to induce her to negotiate with St. Petersburg and to restrict her action against Serbia to seizing Belgrade as a pledge in hand.

3. Russia's general mobilization, which was not rendered necessary by any military measures taken by Germany, was ordered by the Czar at the instigation of the Russian General Staff and of M. Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, acting on his false premises. Of this mobilization Russia did not apprise Germany, thereby jeopardizing in the highest degree the security of the German Empire.

4. France and Great Britain gave their assent to this measure on the part of Russia, a measure that meant a European war.

These facts do not emerge when one reads the material that the commission had at its disposal. Knowledge of these facts would doubtless have influenced the verdict to no small extent in Germany's favor.

With the exception of Baron Jaquemyns, who is the only one of my critics to examine my article from an objective standpoint, the replies of the other members of the commission contain, I am sorry to say, nothing but evasions of the points at issue or empty assertions with regard to Germany's responsibility for the war.

As for Professor Preston Slosson's statements, lack of space, unfortunately, prevents me from dealing with them.

I should like to thank M. Yovanovich for having acted on my suggestion that he should publish the memorandum drawn up by the Serbian delegation.

Berlin.

ALFRED VON WEGERER,
Editor, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*.

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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH
ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Analyst*

SURPASSING in interest and importance all other events of the month (of August) was the resumption of bullish activity on the Stock Exchange. The rise which began on Aug. 15 was even more rapid than that of last March. It was led, moreover, by the best investment stocks—United States Steel, General Motors, American Smelting and Refining and American Can, strongly reinforced by such other standard issues as Allied Chemical and Dye, General Electric, Montgomery Ward and Sears-Roebuck. These and many other issues rose with breath-taking rapidity and with only brief and inconsequential reactions. The advance, moreover, was accompanied by a marked increase in the volume of trading, which on Sept. 5 and 6 reached about 4,500,000 shares, indicating that the general public throughout the length and breadth of the land had again been drawn heavily into the market in much the same fashion as it was before the memorable break of last June.

Operations for the rise were encouraged by continued favorable reports regarding the condition of industry and trade in the United States. Since last December, when industrial activity reached the bottom of a minor cyclical decline, pig iron production, allowing for seasonal influences, has increased 27 per cent., steel ingot production has risen more than 40 per cent., electric power production 8 per cent., automobile production nearly 100 per cent., and freight car loadings nearly 8 per cent. Reports of earnings of leading American corporations, moreover, made an unexpectedly favorable showing for the first six months of the year. According to a compilation made by the National City Bank of New York, net profits of 324 industrial corporations in the first half of this year were 6 per cent. greater than in the first half of 1927. Earnings reports for the second quarter made an even more favorable comparison with those for the second quarter of last year. Monthly gross earnings of Class 1 railroads in the United States, allowing for seasonal variation, increased 6 per cent. from December, 1927, to June, 1928, and net earnings made an even greater gain.

The manner in which the stock market has responded to these developments makes it apparent that the speculative fever which was chilled by the break of last June was not permanently cured, but was merely lying dormant, ready to burst forth again as soon as it became reasonably clear that the "bulls"

were again in the saddle. This despite continued tightness in the money market, with the prospect that the combined effect of rising industrial activity, the annual crop movement (which this year will be heavier than usual) and mounting brokers' loans will bring about extremely spectacular fluctuations in interest rates (particularly in call money) before the year is out. Rates on both commercial paper and time loans on Stock Exchange collateral showed further sharp increases in August, and call money fluctuated throughout most of the month between 6 and 8 per cent. It is characteristic of the present state of the speculative temper that, whereas a few months ago a rise in call money to 6 per cent. would have been taken as a warning of immediate disaster, at present every dip below the 8 per cent. level is seized upon as a sign that a period of easier money lies just around the corner.

There was much discussion during August as to the probability that the reserve banks would take steps to ease the money market during the crop moving period. Part of the rapid bidding-up of stock prices, indeed, was founded on rumors that the reserve banks were about to take such action; and these rumors were given impetus on the last day of the month by a slight reduction in the open market rate on bankers' acceptances. The Federal Reserve Board, however, has stated plainly that no change in its credit policy is contemplated. It is, of course, a part of the functions of the reserve banks to provide credit as needed by the member banks in such periods of seasonal credit strain as that which lies just ahead, and any action which the reserve banks now take in this regard cannot reasonably be construed as a permanent reversal of policy.

It is increasingly evident, moreover, that any additional credit provided by the reserve banks, by whatever means or for whatever purpose, will be quickly gobbled up by the stock market, so that the inevitable day of reckoning will merely be postponed. The only permanent relief for the money market can, of course, come only from (1) a severe decline in security prices, (2) a substantial recession in business activity, or gold imports from abroad, or both such recession and gold imports. In August both imports and exports of gold to and from this country practically ceased. Several European exchange rates declined to a point only fractionally above the level where gold imports would be profitable.

Early in September the prospects were that gold would be imported from London shortly, but there was little likelihood that these imports would be sufficiently large to affect the domestic credit situation to any great extent. It was suggested in these columns several months ago that foreign central banks would be extremely reluctant to part with any of their gold reserves, and in August the Bank of France actually intervened in the foreign exchange market to prevent franc exchange from falling to the point where gold exports to the United States would become profitable.

It has been frequently suggested, of course, that the reserve banks could provide additional bank credit, and thus ease the money market, by substituting Federal Reserve notes for the gold certificates now in circulation. The Federal Reserve Board, however, seems to have disposed of this idea rather effectively by the following pronouncement, which appeared in the September issue of the Federal Reserve Bulletin:

It is often stated that the Federal Reserve banks could increase their surplus gold by paying out Federal Reserve notes and substituting them for the gold certificates now in circulation. This statement overlooks the fact that collateral will be required against the additional Federal Reserve notes put into circulation, and that the entire amount of gold drawn into the Federal Reserve banks would thus have to be impounded with the Federal Reserve agents as cover for the additional notes issued. There would, therefore, be no addition to the surplus gold from this source. Even leaving out of consideration the necessity for additional collateral for Federal Reserve notes, gold withdrawn from circulation would have but a slight effect on the reserve position of the Reserve banks, because their liabilities on Federal Reserve notes would increase by the same amount through the paying out of notes as their reserves would increase through the receipt of gold certificates from circulation. If the entire amount of gold certificates in circulation, which is about \$1,000,000,000, were withdrawn from circulation, and Federal Reserve notes were paid out to replace them, the reserve ratio of the Federal Reserve banks would advance only from 69.6 to 75.6 per cent. Withdrawal of such a large amount of certificates could not be accomplished without considerable delay, and some certificates held in hoards at home and abroad could not be called in. The low point in the circulation of gold certificates, after several years of effort to concentrate them in the Federal Reserve banks, was \$170,000,000 in February, 1922. It is therefore evident that, while the Federal Reserve banks have a considerable volume of excess reserves, or unused lending power, this amount is much smaller than is popularly believed and cannot be materially increased by the device of substituting Federal Reserve notes for gold certificates in the country's circulation.

The stock market, of course, has long since passed the stage where any attention is paid to official warnings, to the growing credit stringency, or to any other fundamentals. Most stocks are selling at prices which bear

no relation to present or future earning power of the companies which they represent, and the only reason they are being bought is the expectation that they can be unloaded on some other buyer at a still more absurdly high price. Conservative bankers who were disturbed by the bull market of last March cannot but be doubly concerned over the stock market's most recent uprush; and yet there is no way of telling when the movement will end. Political factors may cause official and unofficial banking interests to tolerate the absorption of bank credit by the stock market until after the election. After that date, at the very latest, it is reasonably certain that there will be a drastic readjustment.

On account of prevailing high interest rates, the United States Treasury was forced to pay $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on its September offerings of certificates of indebtedness. The proceeds from the sale of these certificates, which mature in nine months and were offered in the amount of \$525,000,000, were used largely for the purpose of meeting the maturity of about \$970,000,000 of outstanding Liberty Loan bonds which became due on Sept. 15. This was the first time in several years that an interest rate as high as $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has been paid on a Government offering. The last note issue to bear a rate as high matured in 1924, and since then a rate as low as 2½ per cent. has been paid.

Another factor which should not be overlooked is a distinct tendency toward higher interest rates abroad. In August, rates on three-months' bankers' bills in London, though still below the rates on ninety-day bankers' acceptances in New York, reached the highest level since last January. The Bank of England continued, however, to strengthen its position, its gold holdings having risen to the highest point in its long history. On Sept. 5 total gold holdings amounted to £176,576,209, which compares with £155,742,064 at the end of April, 1925, when British gold payments were resumed.

Latest reports indicate that there has been some slight improvement in the British iron and steel and cotton textile industries. The coal mining industry, however, continues to decline.

French industrial activity has been high during recent weeks, a condition which has been brought about largely by a favorable financial situation. The French money market continues easy, and activity on the Paris Bourse has increased, prices having risen to a level only slightly below the peak of last May.

In other countries, however, there are signs of more stringent credit conditions. Two such indications, in August, were the raising of rediscount rates by the Bank of Sweden and the Bank of Finland.

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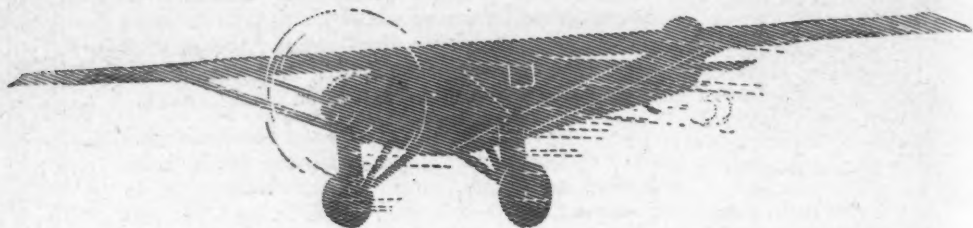
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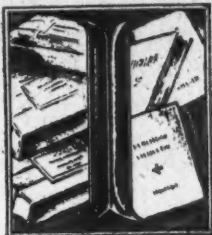
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BOOK REVIEWS

VOL. XXIX

NOVEMBER, 1928

NO. 2

The White Man's Part in the Civilization Of Africa

By THOMAS JESSE JONES

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR, PHELPS-STOKES FUND

THE outstanding value of Dr. Buell's volumes on *The Native Problem in Africa** is that of a compilation of a surprisingly large number of important documents and facts pertaining to African conditions. Geographically the report refers to practically all Africa south of the Sahara Desert, with the notable exception of Portuguese West Africa, Portuguese East Africa and Abyssinia. The twenty-five countries on which facts are given and opinions expressed include eleven British colonies and the Union of South Africa, eleven French colonies, Belgian Congo and Liberia. Their total area is 5,750,000 square miles and their population is almost 70,000,000.

The object of the study, as stated in the preface, is "to set forth the problems which have arisen out of the impact of a primitive people with an industrial civilization, and to show how and to what extent these problems are being solved by the Governments concerned." To this end Dr. Buell presents information and judgments on a wide variety of topics, including the history of conquest and development, geography and ethnology, land tenure, labor policy, taxation and expenditures, imports and exports, administrative system, missions, education, agriculture and forestry, health and sanitation, military requirements, and native revolts.

The discussion of such a comprehensive array of conditions for twenty-five countries, differing widely from each other, is an amazing undertaking for one student limited to fifteen months of African travel and about the same length of time for compilation and writing of the million-word volumes.

In view of the seeming impossibility of the task, it is important to ascertain the degree of success which Dr. Buell has realized. On

the basis of a careful study of the volumes in the light of nine years' study of African conditions, two years of which were spent in Africa with five experts in various phases of African life, the reviewer's estimate of the report may be summarized as follows:

First—That, as an encyclopedia of facts and documents almost unknown to Americans and Europeans, the volumes are an important contribution to those who are concerned in Africa and Africans. Had the purpose of the study been limited to compiling data, the author could have added facts essential to a genuine understanding of the conditions, eliminated the unimportant and unreliable material confusing the reader, and so have produced a report which could become the basis of intensive studies of special subjects for limited areas.

Second—That the effort to pass judgments and to formulate recommendations with regard to the perplexingly diverse conditions of the large African countries has impaired the scientific value of the report. On the basis of inadequate facts and for the lack of first-hand knowledge and experience, the author has in several instances indulged in sweeping generalizations usually associated with partisan propaganda rather than with scientific research.

An illustration of the author's inadequate recognition of facts necessary both to the encyclopedic value of the books as well as to a sound understanding of African conditions is that of the very limited space given to the education of natives in South Africa. No one can understand the South African native problem without a genuine appreciation of the educational progress of natives in the provinces of that country. Though the native schools are superior to those in all African colonies, the author devotes only three scant pages to them, while he gives almost two pages to a fanatical religious outbreak of only passing significance. Similar oversights characterize several other important areas.

**The Native Problem in Africa*. By Raymond Leslie Buell. In two volumes, 2,144 pages, with 12 full page maps. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$15.

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The careless use of facts is illustrated by the author's dependence upon African vital statistics, whose unreliability is generally recognized by statisticians. In some instances, Dr. Buell uses the high death rates to prove the dangers of industrial civilization, and in others he quotes the equally untrustworthy low death rates to prophesy the overcrowding of native reserves. Another form of carelessness relates to the percentages of adult males employed away from their villages. Though the author recognizes and explains the policy of the East Africa Labor Commissions who assert that the adult male group available for work away from home are those between the age of fifteen and forty years of age, he persistently refers to this group as the "adult males in the country." The fact is that the males over fifteen years of age are forty per cent. of the total population, while those between the ages of fifteen and forty years are only twenty per cent. In view of the serious indictments of the reports as to the excessive employment of males away from their villages, such carelessness is very misleading.

While the extensive section on Liberia contains many valuable documents, it is unfortunate that the discussion includes evidence of little significance and misleading deductions which a more thorough study of Liberian history would have eliminated. The hasty judgments on the United States State Department entirely overlook the decades of conscientious thought which the officers of that Department have devoted to Liberian affairs. It is well known to the long-time friends of Liberia that the intervention of the United States Government through the Department of State has on more than one occasion saved the Liberian Republic from dangers that threatened its existence.

Similarly, the sweeping implications with regard to the Firestone developments largely discount the intelligence and patriotism of the Liberian Government. President King's words to the Liberian Legislature express the conviction not only of the Liberian people but also of American friends who have known Liberia for many years. "The participation of safe and responsible American capital in the economic development of Liberia," declared President King, "is, indeed, a phase of our foreign policy not built on abstractions. It is the result of a practicable conception of our national interest arising out of the unshakable belief of all Liberian Administrations that the Government and the people of the United States of America sincerely desire to see Liberia's independence maintained."

The record of the Firestone Company of America and the facts concerning their developments in Liberia do not support Dr. Buell's

apprehensions as to the probable exploitation of Liberian labor. Among the significant guarantees of justice to native labor, the Firestone Company has made the following provisions: (1) The employment of labor without contract restrictions as to length of service, every employe being free to leave at any time; (2) An eight-hour day; (3) Payment of wages direct to the employe. In addition, arrangements are made for natives of the same tribe to live together in model villages with four streets in the form of a cross with recreation buildings in the centre. Food is sold to them at cost and plots of ground are provided for gardening.

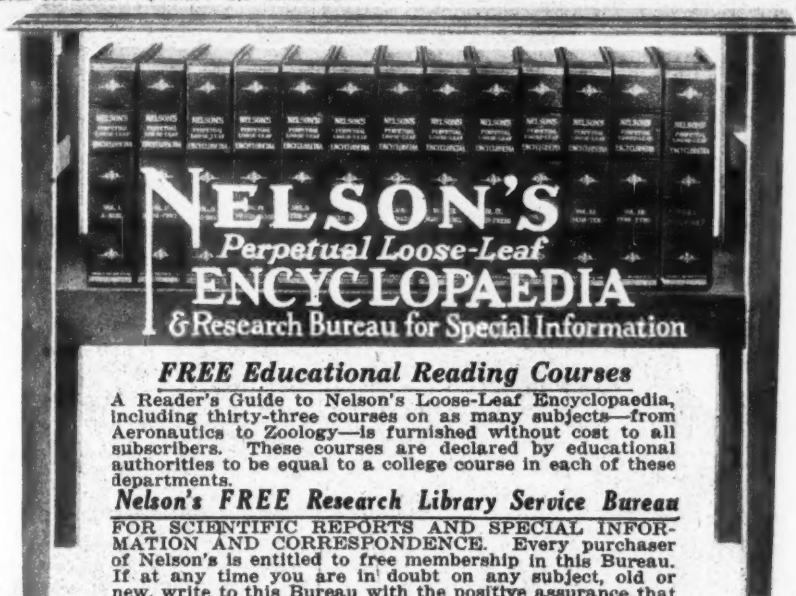
Careful study of the Firestone activities shows that the granting of the lease for a million acres out of a total of 29,000,000 acres in the country is not a serious risk. The frequent reference to the company's need of 300,000 laborers is based on a careless journalistic statement rather than on the actual policies as they are being developed in Liberia. American friends now in Liberia are watching these new developments with deep interest. Their present conviction is that the entrance of Mr. Firestone's activities warrants a new hope which has great promise for the future of the republic.

Did space permit, it would be possible to show that the impacts of industrial civilization upon the native people are now, with few exceptions, far more for good than for evil. It is true, as these volumes show, that there were in the past grave injustices, and there is still in some colonies a continuation of exploitation that should not be tolerated by the civilized world. In the British, French and Belgian colonies the policies are strongly in the direction of genuine trusteeship for the native people. Great Britain is especially fortunate in the unsurpassed type of colonial officers and in a public opinion that demands full justice for the colonial people. Dr. Buell is emphatically right in his recognition of the stimulating influence of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Under the influence of mandate policies it seems probable that all African Governments will in time adopt the ideals of service to and with the African native people.

Summarizing these varied observations concerning these monumental volumes, the reviewer's judgment is, first, that as source books for the careful student who is already acquainted with African conditions this report supplies many facts and documents of extraordinary value; second, that the author's judgments and recommendations are so frequently mistaken as to be exceedingly misleading to the students and readers unacquainted with African conditions.

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Asquith's Real Failure

By P. W. WILSON

FORMER MEMBER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

WE have here the last and the best product of Lord Oxford's Asquithian pen. In these diaries and jottings,* the most proper of Prime Ministers, notorious for his dread of publicity, has displayed a delightful piquancy of phrase. In times of utmost stress, we find him surrounded by culture, reading books, quoting Greek and Latin, sampling sermons and charmed at dinner to meet even his bitterest opponents.

For American and even some English readers, such volumes offer inevitable difficulty. They deal not only with the majestic personalities of the period—John Bright, Queen Victoria and so on—but with mediocrities who already have begun to “fly forgotten as a dream.” A Dante is able to share his immortality with the little men who crowd the comedy of life; hardly an Asquith. We read that the late Lord Chaplin—not only portly but portentous—imitated the oratory of a Gladstone but, to quote a phrase of Burke, only attained to “the nodosities of the oak without its strength.” In order to taste the full flavor of the comparison, we need, however, to have suffered under Chaplin's eloquence.

Yet amid these amiable personalities, we gain an impression of a polite oligarchy, academic, exclusive, consecrated to the correct thing, which embraced the leading statesmen on both front benches at Westminster and shut out every one else. To dining fraternities like “The Club” and “Grillion's,” Asquith was admitted—little groups of men, only a score or two, who considered that it was an “honor” for Archbishops or Prime Ministers to be invited to join them. It was at “The Club” that Dr. Johnson declared that “patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.” It was at Grillion's that Ireland was described as “a country in which the impossible always happens and the inevitable never.” Lord Oxford recalls “an animated controversy between Bishop Leighton and Lord Kelvin, in which the greatest of living physicists stoutly maintained that the twentieth century would begin on Jan. 1, 1900.”

It was all very pleasant but, in the meantime, things were happening, among them the rise of a popular press. It is significant of Asquith that he received, so far as he could re-

member, one letter alone during his career from Lord Northcliffe. Yet Lord Northcliffe was a symptom of England's revolt against the autocracy of “Grillion's.” When war broke out, these powerful coteries were reduced to their numerical insignificance. Nothing then mattered except a mobilized nation.

In the second volume, we see Asquith plunged into “a real Armageddon.” Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador, “was very agitated, poor man, and wept.”

As Prime Minister, Asquith was “now always escorted and surrounded by cheering crowds of loafers and holiday-makers.” Churchill, “in his most bellicose mood,” had a mouth that watered for the goshen. Compared with the fate of France, those counties in Ulster, Fermanagh and Derry, over which Redmond and Carson had been wrangling, were “infernal snippets.” The Cabinet, with its “Beagles and Bobtails silent and bewildered,” was “rather amusing.” Kitchener, though difficult, was “a real sportsman.”

Day by day, the disaster developed. At Mons, there was “a bad check.” The Prince of Wales was “eating his heart out to go to the front” and Lloyd George “generally has a point of view of his own.” That anonymous person, the “poisonous mischief-maker,” began to be active, sowing dissension between colleagues in the Cabinet, between Generals and Admirals, between allies. Asquith emerges as conciliator, always trying to adjust susceptibilities which recall the tantrums of tenors in opera—the Prime Minister who would predominate only by persuasion. He has audiences with the King of unprecedented length—one at night, with his Majesty in a dressing gown; he has to separate Lloyd George and McKenna, who were “fighting like fishwives,” but were ultimately shamed into “cooing like sucking doves.” Never was the Parliamentary method so severely tested; and in the end, it collapsed. Lloyd George was summoned to save the country, and the rest of this book is no more than Asquith's *Götterdämmerung*. The day came when not one safe seat could be found for the most respected Prime Minister of modern times. “Grillion's” was outvoted.

That Asquith failed to win the war is a fact. But it is quite open to argument that he was denied the chance. He knew that no sudden victory was possible. In supposing otherwise, his critics were mistaken. There is no evidence that, under the Coalition, the conduct of the war gained in actual efficiency. More money was spent but the result was no more than an even chance of a defeat, nor was it due to any virtues of Mr. Asquith's successors that the United States saved the situation.

One man there has been who knows the truth of all this. The letters to Lord Oxford from King George, here printed in facsimile,

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*A Story for Men and Women
who are dissatisfied with themselves*



higher; clothes cost more; food was more expensive. It was absolutely necessary for me to earn more money. So once in a while I got a few dollars more. But it wasn't because of any great change in my ability.

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I look forward to the future with confidence and without fear. I know that only improvement can come with the years. Once I wandered through life aimlessly, cringing, afraid. Today I have a definite goal and the will to reach it. I know I cannot be beaten. Once my discontent resulted in wishes. Today my slightest discontent results in action. Once I looked forward hopefully to a \$5 a week increase in salary. Today I look forward confidently to a \$100 a week increase in my earnings.

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are emphatic in their affectionate gratitude to a great Minister who, despite Ireland, despite the House of Lords, despite the World War, left the Throne firmly established on its historic foundations.

Lady Oxford's introduction is of exceptional interest. She is wholly right in abolishing the common delusion that Asquith was "fundamentally serene." As she says, he was "patient but not placid," and his patience was due to "an iron self-control." In his farewell, he said: "Resist all the allurements of short cuts and compromises. Look neither to the right nor to the left, but keep straight on." The real defect in Asquith was, that in keeping straight on he could only see one step ahead. It used to be said of him that he never looked beyond next week. The result to his party was calamitous. Two great forces were arising in Great Britain—Labor and Womanhood. On absorbing the progressive elements in those forces, depended the future of the Liberal Party. Asquith ignored both of these opportunities. He made no terms with Labor. He staked his career on an opposition—as he has admitted, a futile and temporary opposition—to women's suffrage. It is here that we should discern the real failure in his career. It was not that he lost the war. He did not lose the war. But under his negative initiative, the Liberal Party has ceased to be the official opposition in Great Britain.

An Unhonored Prophet Of Germany

By PRESTON SLOSSON

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN.

EVERY ONE who lived through the Battle of the Books in the Great War will remember the sensation caused by the publication and translation of the memoirs of Prince Lichnowsky's London mission, now republished with a great bulk of added material as *Heading for the Abyss*.^{*} It was not that the memoirs contained much that was unknown in point of fact; indeed, apart from his account of the generous British offers to Germany in Africa and Mesopotamia, which afforded additional proof of the highly pacific character of the pre-war policy of the British Ministry, there was little in them to alter opinions already formed on the war guilt question. Certainly the Lichnowsky document was no such coup for the Entente as the discovery

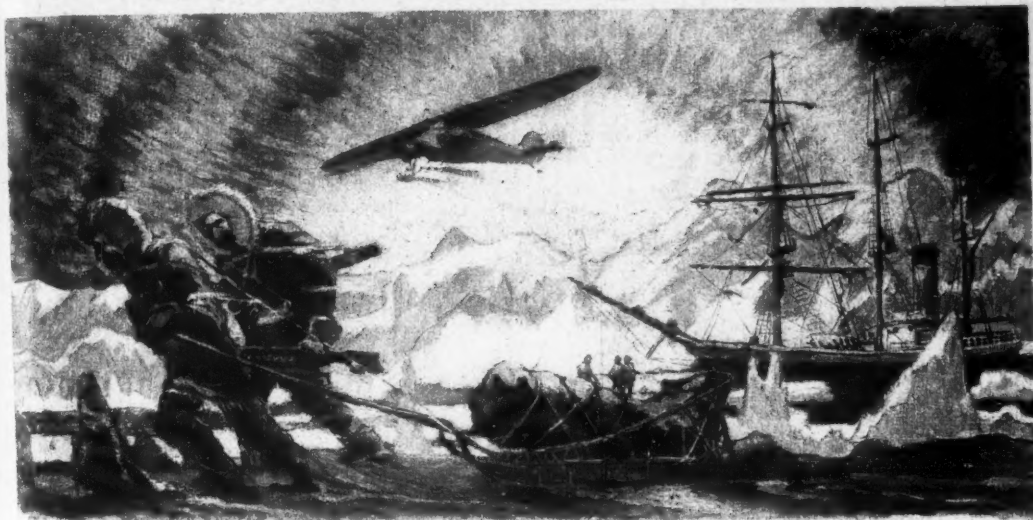
of the "Willy-Nicky correspondence," nor such a blow on the other side as Russia's publication of the text of the secret treaties made during the war. Nor was it the fact that a German, high in office as in reputation, had turned State's evidence against the foreign policy of his own Government that was most interesting. A man is no more infallible because he bravely stands against public opinion in his own country than because he drifts with the current. Rather, the importance of Prince Lichnowsky's war-time memorandum (published by accident, against the author's will, as he makes abundantly clear in the present volume) lay in his keen analysis of the weakness of German diplomacy, its blind reliance on decadent Austria, and the consequent deliberate closing of avenues toward peace wherever they led, to St. Petersburg, Paris or London.

Prince Lichnowsky's "I told you so" did not make him popular with those whose shortcomings he had revealed. He was driven to banishment from his own country for a time and permanently from public life and power. Though all his prophecies and warnings were fulfilled, he died an unhappy man, for he was a true patriot as well as a theorist and would rather have had Germany triumph in his own despite than suffer the failure which he foresaw. Nothing could have been more unjust than the picture painted by Lichnowsky's friends abroad and enemies at home of a German statesman bemused by English blandishments until he acquired a foreign heart and could stand outside Germany as defender of the Entente and assailant of the German cause. His fiery protests against the Peace of Versailles (pp. 453-61) are a sufficient proof of that. Nor was he a pacifist in the sense in which the word is generally used. He condemned Germany not for deliberately willing the war—"a war that is willed and waged for some definite end need by no means be a crime" (page xxii)—but for blundering carelessly into war in a sort of diplomatic sleepwalking. Indeed, Lichnowsky can be quoted in refutation of the charge, now rarely heard, that the German Government had planned the war of 1914. The German Government had planned nothing—that was just the trouble. What Germany's rulers lacked was the elasticity of imagination needed to face and deal with a new situation.

Like so many other well-informed critics of German diplomacy, from professional experts such as Friedrich Meinecke to popular biographers like Emil Ludwig, Lichnowsky finds the main errors of the German Government, not in the crisis of 1914, but in the wavering and truculent diplomacy of the years when the war was only a-brewing. These were the steps to the abyss (pages xxv-xxvi.).

The failure to renew the treaty with Russia

^{*}*Heading for the Abyss*. By Prince Lichnowsky. New York: Payson and Clarke. 1928. \$7.50.



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(1890); the noisy renewal of the disastrous Triple Alliance (1892); the triple alliance in the Far East (1895) in which we played the rôle of a circus clown and alienated Japan; the Krueger telegram (1896); the senseless occupation of Tsingtau which started the Chinese question (1897); the grotesque "Welt-Marschall" (Waldersee) expedition (1900); the snubbing of Chamberlain (1901); the insane naval policy which, although it was not the cause of the war, nevertheless made England restless and helped to throw her into the arms of France; the still insaner Morocco crisis.* * * The Agadir escapade, which brought us a snub from England; the breakdown of the Haldane mission; * * * our Austrophile and anti-Serbian attitude during the wars fought by the Balkan peoples in the cause of national unity and independence * * * and finally, as the keystone to this arch of errors, the punishment of the "assassins of the Princes" for the sake of the "vital interests" of an ally who today has completely disappeared. Then followed in rapid succession our refusal to accept the British offer of mediation, the ignoring of the Russian proposal to submit the quarrel to The Hague Court of Arbitration, the suicidal declaration of war on Russia, the invasion of Belgium, the restoration of Poland, and to crown all—unrestricted submarine warfare.

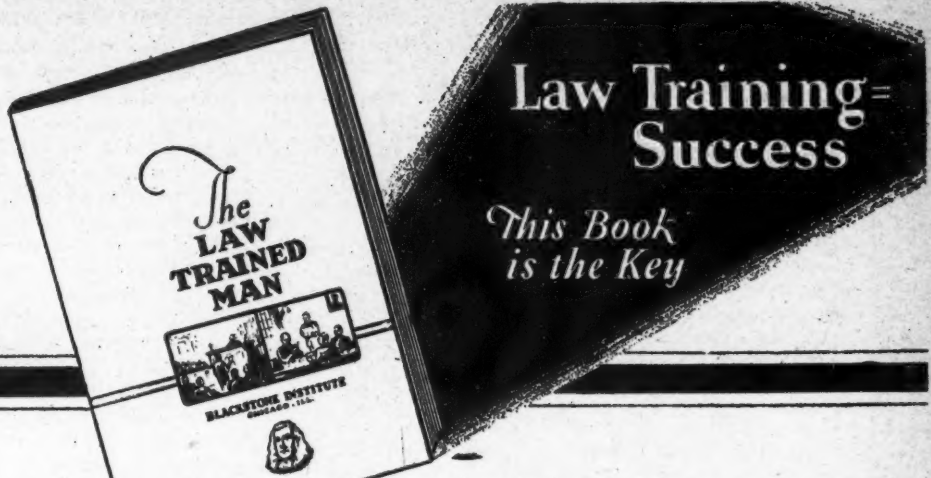
Thus far on the road Lichnowsky keeps step with Meinecke, Ludwig and the rest, but he parts from them in having little or no admiration for Bismarck as Imperial Chancellor. He admits that Bismarck was abler than his successors, but holds "that the catastrophe of the Great War is to be traced back to his mistakes" (page 130). His greatest error was the alliance with Austria. "The Triple Alliance was a whim of Bismarck's conceived in a fit of spleen against Gortschakoff. * * * Bismarck's successors lived on tradition, battenning on the glory of a paragon whose errors were sanctified by a great name" (page 430). In the reviewer's opinion, Lichnowsky is open to criticism for overstating the case against Germany's alliance with Austria in preference to Russia. We may admit that the German-Austrian alliance chained a living nation to a corpse without considering a Russian alliance preferable. Was not Russia also decadent, and did not the test of war prove her weakness even before it proved that of Austria-Hungary? On what basis can Lichnowsky say that "a thousand years of peace might have been ours had we sided with Russia instead of Austria"? (page 430). Would it not have been better for a modern, cultured, industrial nation like Germany to have cut the cable altogether with backward States like Austria-Hungary and Russia and sought friendship with democratic and progressive nations such as France, Great Britain and the United States?

The book is a curious jumble of materials; it might bear the title of "Prince Lichnowsky's Scrap Book." First come several introductory notes, then a series of broken narratives of English conditions when Lichnowsky visited the country, including his previously published

memoirs of his London mission; then a brief note on snobbery in diplomatic circles, a review of Bismarck's diplomacy, controversial correspondence with Friedrich Naumann on the plan for a Confederated Central Europe, his defense before the Prussian House of Lords, post-war notes and appeals on the peace terms and suggestions for the internal organization of the new Germany, then a series of London dispatches (the portion of the book most interesting to professional historians), a few pages of "political aphorisms" on German policy written in the bitterness of defeat, further notes on the need of Russian friendship, the hardships of the Versailles peace, the internal and foreign problems of the German Republic. Most of the London dispatches have been previously published in the "Kautsky documents" or elsewhere, and some of those which Lichnowsky desired to publish were lost while in the care of Count Max Montgelas, the most important German writer on war responsibility. The translator in a footnote questions the good faith of Count Montgelas in this matter and in others (page 157), we hope unjustly.

Unconsciously throughout the book Prince Lichnowsky is painting his own portrait, the portrait of a nobleman with democratic sympathies and principles and yet with the traditions and manner of the old régime. By descent a Pole, he was yet wholly without sympathy for the national cause of Poland, the one defect in his otherwise liberal viewpoint toward the aspirations of the Slavic nationalities.* A reluctant official servant of a policy in which he thoroughly disbelieved and masters whom he justly despised, he tried to use his position to build a bridge of peace between his native country and its most dreaded rival. He could not control events, he could only give unheeded warnings. Better than any one else in high position he foresaw the future, but he was handicapped by his own conceit, irritability and fixed ideas as well as by the stupidities of the home Government. His defects curtailed his influence, for it was always possible for his enemies to say: "Don't take him seriously; he was hypnotized by Sir Edward Grey and by the Russians and has a regular phobia against Austria. Moreover, he is jealous of other Am-

*He had a true sympathy with the Southern Slavs and compared their risorgimento with that of the Italians: "We in those days meant to thwart the aspirations of the Italians for unity just as fifty-five years later we tried to thwart the aspirations of the Serbs." The reviewer has a certain grim pleasure in recording these words of a German witness (page 96), since he was roundly rebuked by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes for drawing any parallel whatever between the struggle for the unification of the Italians and the struggle for the unification of the Yugoslavs. But this is not the only time that German writers have shown more insight than some of Germany's volunteer apologists in America.



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bassadors and would like to boast that 'among our diplomats mine was the only voice raised in protest to predict what has since come to pass.' (See page xxiit.) So they spoke of him in 1914, and so they still speak of him in 1928. Yet had they but listened to this fretful voice Wilhelm the Second would not be an exile in Holland and some seven or eight million better men than Wilhelm would not lie beneath the white crosses.

Brief Book Reviews

AMERICA AND THE NEW POLAND. By H. H. Fisher. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928. \$3.50.

President Wilson's Thirteenth Point provided for "an independent Polish State * * * which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea." With this declaration on Jan. 8, 1918, the new Poland was theoretically born to face a tragic and stormy childhood. Starvation faced the Polish people, but this country again proved its friendship by rushing shiploads of grain into Poland through the port of Danzig. Under the direction of Mr. Hoover food relief in 1919 cost the United States about \$52,000,000 and the entire cost of Polish relief is valued at approximately \$275,000,000. It is not these isolated facts but the story of the gigantic work which makes Mr. Fisher's book highly interesting. Written with a decidedly pro-Polish slant, characteristic of the sympathy in this country for a downtrodden people, this account of Polish history and Polish aspirations should appeal to the student, the general reader and the potential investor. To those primarily interested in the peace of Europe the problem remains: Can there be stability until the questions of East Prussia, Danzig and Vilna have been satisfactorily settled?

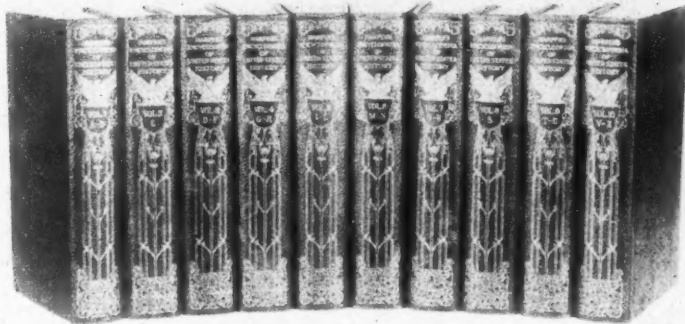
GOVERNOR SMITH'S AMERICAN CATHOLICISM. By Charles C. Marshall. New York: Dodd Mead. 1928. \$1.

According to Mr. Marshall in a new survey of the discussion which followed Governor Smith's now famous letter in *The Atlantic Monthly* of May, 1927, there exists an "American Catholicism," which is in direct conflict with Roman Catholicism in at least six important respects. The immediate interest which the Governor's letter aroused, not only in this country, but in many European countries and even in Egypt and China, shows, says Mr. Marshall, "that as Europe since the Great War has sprinkled the Old World with national States and democratic Governments, she has come to feel what America has long known—that the dogmatic decrees of 1870 as they stand [reaffirmed by the Pope as late as Jan. 6 last] are irreconcilable with modern political life." Mr. Marshall pleads that an open discussion of this "vital and current issue" should not be branded as intolerance, since the conflict will "presumably continue long after the Presidential issue of the campaign is decided and forgotten."

COMMERCE OF SOUTH AMERICA. By Clarence F. Jones. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1928. At the end of 1926 United States business men

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WAS LEE A GREAT GENERAL?

To the Editor of Current History:

Since boyhood I have found a deep interest in the character and military history of Robert E. Lee. Although I believe it would have been a disaster to both North and South if the cause in which he served had been successful, nevertheless, I have a great admiration for both his character and military skill; hence, I was much interested in the able discussion of these subjects in the October issue of **CURRENT HISTORY**, where these questions were argued from opposite standpoints by Captain Colby and Mr. Freeman.

In reply to the questions raised in the title of Captain Colby's article, permit me to answer that the military genius of Robert E. Lee is a "fact" and not a "fiction," and to the second question whether his "failure" was due to "weakness of character" I answer that, although the cause for which he fought did not succeed, it cannot be said to be due to any "weakness of character" on the part of General Lee. Although Robert E. Lee may have lacked that transcendent power of impressing his authority which was possessed by such commanders as Napoleon, Washington, Marlborough and Wellington, we cannot call it "weakness of character" in a man who possessed so many splendid qualities as General Lee. The most that we can justly say is that it was one slight imperfection in a great military genius, and, although, if he had possessed also the quality of authority and had required Longstreet to obey his orders promptly, he might perhaps have won the Battle of Gettysburg and might have much prolonged the Civil War, it was better for a suffering country that there should have been some vulnerable point in his great abilities which prevented the nation from being disrupted, and even prevented the war from being still more prolonged.

On the other hand, I cannot agree with the criticism of Captain Colby that Lee erred in showing deference to Jefferson Davis in the quotation reproduced. If the one flaw in General Lee's military character was his not requiring prompt and absolute obedience by his corps commanders, was it not his duty to defer

to his military superior, Jefferson Davis, who at the time was the Commander-in-chief of all the armies of the Confederate States? Captain Colby also says that neither Grant nor McClellan wrote as Lee did to Jefferson Davis. That is true, but the circumstances were different. Toward the close of the war, when Grant had seen some of the difficult complications arising from a divided authority, he accepted the command of the armies of the United States upon the express condition that he should have full control. This was not the case when Lee wrote to Davis. So far as McClellan was concerned, while I have much appreciation of some of his difficulties and abilities, nevertheless, I do not think that he can justly be criticised for lack of assertion of his opinions. As to Sherman during his march to the sea, as he was cut off for a long period from all communications with his superiors, he had no choice but to depend wholly upon his own decisions and authority.

As another illustration of Captain Colby's criticism, he says that General Lee told one of his commanders, "If you say your camps are clean, I will go" [to inspect them]. I do not think this remark shows a neglect of duty on the part of General Lee. He knew the character of the colonel to whom he was talking, and it may be that this remark was the most effective one which Lee could have made in order to secure the object of having the camps put in perfect condition.

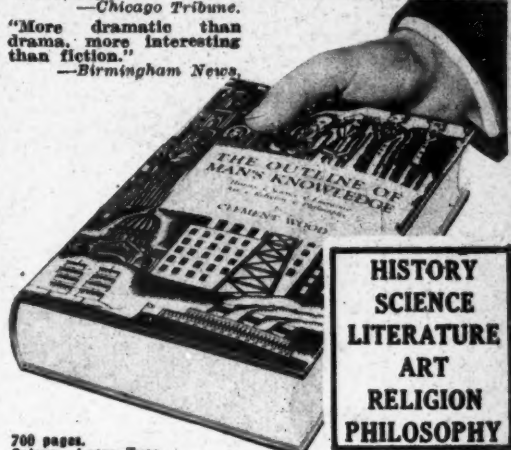
Then, again, Lee is criticised by Captain Colby for explaining to his men the lack of rations. Both Washington and Napoleon did this. For instance, at the commencement of the first Italian campaign Napoleon said in a proclamation to his troops: "Soldiers! you are hungry and naked; the Government owes you much and can pay you nothing. Your patience, your courage in the midst of these rocks are admirable. * * * I come to lead you into the most fertile plains the sun beholds. Rich provinces, opulent cities, will soon be at your disposal. There you will find abundant harvests, honor and glory." There are few instances in history in which an army and a general have accomplished such wonderful results as were achieved by this first Italian campaign.

I was much struck, however, with Captain Colby's effective comparison of the situations at Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg. His argument that Lee was in command in both cases, and therefore had the responsibility for the failure at Gettysburg as well as the success at Chancellorsville, is a fine statement of the situations. In fact, General Lee, after the repulse of Pickett and his fifteen thousand

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